Concerning Development:
An Ethnography of Contingency and Ethics in a Cross-Cultural, Faith-based Aid Relationship

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ABSTRACT

Concerning Development: An Ethnography of Contingency and Ethics in a Cross-Cultural, Faith-based Aid Relationship

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This dissertation is an ethnographic case study of an international faith-based development aid relationship between two Protestant Christian non-governmental organizations: World Renew (which is North American and Christian Reformed) and Anglican Development Services (which is Kenyan and Anglican). This relationship, I argue, includes a number of influential bodies besides the NGOs themselves. Faith-based development aid praxis materializes in dialectic with the practical ethical demands of both supporters and beneficiaries. These demands illustrate and are contingent on the socio-economic structures of disparate cultural-religious lifeworlds.

The aim of this dissertation is to unravel ways that faith affects development praxis in a relational context of multiple, sometimes countervailing, priorities, desires, expectations, and demands – variously rooted in religion, history, economics, and culture. Employing fieldwork observations and interviews, primary texts, and secondary literature to gain a sense of these demands and their sources, I demonstrate how the religious worldviews of disparate communities inform the discourse, goals, and multi-directional responsiveness of development praxis. At the same time, the study shows that these development organizations in certain ways also influence the very expectations of supporters and beneficiaries to which they are subject. By examining this complex dialectic – or, rather, multilectic – of demands and accommodations thereof, I map routes by which faith comes to fruition in this NGO relationship.

The original scholarly contribution of this project is a new ethnographic study of the impact of religion on the work of development aid, a project that is unique for studies of religion and development, anthropology of religion, Christianity in Africa, and development aid in East Africa. The study also involved writing a history of World Renew, an organization for which no such cohesive historical narrative had yet existed. The project demonstrates the necessity of highly localized research for long-term, sustainable development; it reveals how religion can be a critical aspect of local socio-economies; and it shows the contingent, dynamic nature of religious faith and of the expression of faith in ethical demands.

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Writing these thanks reminds me not only of the vast swathes of people to whom I owe gratitude, but also the many ways in which this degree and this thesis owe their shapes to the good will and positive influences of so many people. Though I would love to name each one, I attempt here to include those of particular and direct import for this dissertation moment. The list remains long, but to those I have missed, please accept my heartfelt blame of, as always, the patriarchy.

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from malaria that I thought was bad chicken but that became spirit visions; and my parents, Dirk and Jenny Bakker, who provided the unexpectedly intensive level of support that I needed in order to deliver this baby to the finish line (to mix dissertation metaphors) and who never, not once, asked, “How is the dissertation going?”. Last, but far from least, Hudson Kiige and Dedan Muthanwa, thank you always for your love and your faith in me; and my grandparents: Idske and Simon Bakker, and Janny and Roelof Bootsma, who immigrated to Canada from Holland after WWII. Thank you all for imagining things different.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACK	Anglican Church of Kenya
ADS	Anglican Development Services (previously Christian Community Services)
ADSMKE	Anglican Development Services Mount Kenya East
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AODC	All Ontario Diaconal Conference
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BC	British Columbia
CBO	Community Based Organization
CCMP	Church and Community Mobilization Process
CCS	Christian Community Services (now ADS)
CFGB	Canadian Foodgrains Bank
CGK	Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk (Christian Reformed Church – in Holland)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency (subsumed into the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development in 2013, which is now the Department of Global Affairs)
CLTS	Community Led Total Sanitation
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CRC	Christian Reformed Church
CRCNA	Christian Reformed Church of North America
CRWM	Christian Reformed World Missions
CRWRC	Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (now World Renew)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
DIY	Do It Yourself
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
DRS	Disaster Response Services
EU	European Union
FBNGO	Faith-Based Non-Governmental Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment

FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency (USA)
FOREX	Foreign Exchange (currency)
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDP	Internally Displaced Person/s
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IRM	International Relief Manager
KANU	Kenya African National Union
MKE	Mount Kenya East
MO	*modus operandi*
NADC	Northern Alberta Diaconal Conference
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCEC	National Convention Executive Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPA	New Policy Agenda
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (bible)
NRTA	Natural Resources Transfer Agreement
OCI	Organizational Capacity Indicators
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PEV	Post-Election Violence
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RCEA	Reformed Church of East Africa

RCT	Randomized Control Trials
SHG	Self-Help Group
SRS	Skills Rating Scale
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VBDI	Village-Based Development Initiatives
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
VSL	Village Savings and Loans
WMARC	World Missions and Relief Commission
WRADS	Western Region Anglican Development Services
WRCCS	Western Region Christian Community Services
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Brief Introduction to the Project

This dissertation is an ethnographic case study of the international faith-based development aid relationship between two Protestant Christian non-governmental organizations, one Canadian (Christian Reformed) and the other Kenyan (Anglican). Referencing nine months of fieldwork and over one hundred interviews, I analyze the interrelations of Dutch-Canadian Christian Reformed ethical discourse and practice, Anglicanism and political-religious history in Kenya, and the politicized context of international aid within which such faith-based organizations exist. More specifically, I describe processes by which faith-based development aid practices materialize in dialectic with the practical ethical demands of supporters and beneficiaries. These demands illustrate and are contingent on the socio-economic structures of disparate religious lifeworlds. Thus, in addition to the impact of religious beliefs and experiences on community development work in Kenya, the analysis also highlights the strongly contextual nature of religious ethical praxis (by which term I mean thought and action), which contradicts views of religions and their ethics as monolithic, eternal, and uncompromising.

The relationship can be sketched as follows: World Renew, the development arm of the Christian Reformed Church in North America (CRCNA), has as one of its many international partnerships with local organizations an ongoing connection with regional sub-stations of Anglican Development Services (ADS), the development arm of the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK). World Renew's denominational mandate is bi-directional, its mission being to edify the church as well as minister to the world. Thus World Renew is accountable both to its partners and to the members of the CRCNA, who contribute the majority of World Renew's financial support through donations. ADS, in turn, is also accountable to World Renew as well as to other donor organizations and to the communities where it works (it is not accountable to the ACK in the same way that World Renew is to the CRCNA). Thus the relationship between these two NGOs (non-governmental organizations), World Renew and ADS, also bears the weight of the needs and desires of the communities to whom the NGOs are responsible: the CRCNA constituency, and rural Kenyan communities who have committed to development projects. Within the relationship,

World Renew is the core mediator, since it is the source of funding and expertise that reaches ADS from North America, as well as the conveyer of information about Kenya and ADS to Christian Reformed churches in North America.

Beyond the relationship of these NGOs, this dissertation investigates the types of connections and social capital that World Renew facilitates, mediates, negotiates and leverages while working toward its multi-directional goal of transformation: of partners and communities, of home constituents and the church, and of World Renew itself. At the same time as World Renew pursues its own initiatives as formulated by its institutional mandate and goals, its priorities are subject to the demands of donors and partners and their faith- and doctrine-based worldviews and priorities. The aim of this dissertation is to unravel the ways that faith affects development praxis in this relational context of multiple priorities and demands and the tensions that can arise therein. The fundamental answer to this inquiry is that faith informs development praxis via certain demands that are made on World Renew by its supporters, by its institutional home, and by its partners (and the communities they represent); it also informs World Renew's own goals and the ways it can respond to these demands. Examining the sources of these demands, and the ways that World Renew incorporates them into its praxis, maps the routes by and endpoints at which faith comes to terms in World Renew's development approach. This occurs in substantial and noticeable ways, deployed and framed primarily by ideas of "relationship."

To arrive at an understanding of this, I look at the embodied and embedded horizons – the historical, physical, and fiscal contexts – of the various agents in this multilectic. I also look at cultural and religious norms, expectations, and ethics as these influence economic behavior, especially the various economies of development aid. Taking from anthropologist Michael Jackson and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose work I describe in section three of this chapter, I suggest that and describe how these aspects of a group's or person's *lifeworld* or *habitus*[1] help shape motivations for supporting, participating in, or strategizing development aid. Bringing together, as it does, the *habitus*-derived motivations and norms of two very disparate cultural-religious settings, World Renew's work reflects and incorporates both tensions and coherences in this long distance, economic-moral relationship. It also, in its work of mediation, constructs and interprets various currencies of communication and exchange, especially that of relationship

[1] See page 39 of this chapter.

itself.

I approach the question of motivation through anthropology, with the assumption that religious, economic, and other beliefs and practices are a dynamic, dialectical web, and that motivations are part of this multi-strand interplay. Motivation, in this view, consists not just of explicit reasons for "why." Though agents' own views of their reasons are certainly to be considered seriously, a full account must also attempt to frame a reasonable outline of the systems and history from within which these views and articulations emerge, that is, implicit and contextual aspects of motivation.

The original scholarly contribution of this project is a highly contextualized, cross-cultural, new ethnographic study of the impact of religion on the work of development aid, a project that has not been undertaken as such and thus is unique for studies of religion and development, anthropology of religion, Christianity in Africa, and development aid in East Africa (especially Kenya, which is an NGO hub). The work is also relevant to three other broad areas of interest and concern: it demonstrates the necessity of very specific ethnographic research to enable and support long-term, sustainable development progress; it reveals religion as a critical aspect of local socio-economics, especially in ex-colonies where religion was so strongly associated with colonial authority, social mobility, and wealth; finally, it shows the contingent, dynamic nature of religious faith and of the expression of faith in ethical demands.

The reader may notice some unevenness between the discussions of Albertan and Kenyan research subjects. I acknowledge that, and would like to address it. The depth of analysis I felt comfortable asserting with respect to the Canadian interviews and data is due to several factors. First, there is a good deal more primary and secondary literature available about the Dutch Christian Reformed Church (CRC) in Holland and Canada than there is about the communities of participants and field staff in Kenya that I describe. I was extremely fortunate, for instance, to have access to carefully maintained annual records of every official CRCNA discussion and decision since 1961 (or earlier, had I desired). By contrast, though there is work on the colonial era Anglican Church, and some recent historiography on some of the political actions of certain ACK clergy, overall the amount of information available about the local religious lives and histories of people I met in Kenya was very limited. Second, the CRC constituents I interviewed are, like me, Canadian, and even Albertan, which is where I grew up. Further, I was raised in the Dutch CRC community and, though I have had little interaction with the church for the last

twenty-odd years, it is a context that has always been at only a small remove from my life. This sense of familiarity allowed me to draw conclusions of a type and depth that I was hesitant, even unable, to draw regarding my Kenyan interlocutors and their spaces and histories after spending such a short while with them. I am wary of the easy potential for inserting my own understandings and assumptions in place of actual data or fair and clear observation and hope I have managed to avoid that.

II. Literature Review

This literature review covers representative perspectives regarding the two broad areas with which the study is concerned: foreign aid, especially development aid and the concept of "development" which that involves; and the growing field of study that focuses on the interplay of religion and development. Within this latter, I have restricted the review to works on Christianity and Christian NGOs in particular. I have excluded the very large current literature on Pentecostalism in Africa, specifically the practices and beliefs of "Faith" or "Prosperity" Gospel. While fascinating, this is not directly linked to my topic. Similarly, I have for the most part excluded examinations of witchcraft and development, aside from two works in which "development" is framed as a Christian-Western modernizing movement with which witchcraft paradigms grapple. The voices on Religion and Development that I address are scholarly, non-professing, non-theological voices, which examine as far as possible religion and development from an outside, social scientific perspective. It is for this reason that the review bibliography may seem lacking in African authorship. While I accept the possibility that I have overlooked African scholarship from within the Religious Studies discipline, the African-authored works that I did find on the topic of religion and development were theological, "insider," and prescriptive Christian voices, by and large suggesting various spiritual paths toward and visions of development for African society. While this literature has value as a means of insight into certain views of society and development among African religious leadership, that is a topic for inquiry and analysis by religious studies scholars more than a source for religious studies work and so these works, too, are excluded here.

i. Humanitarian Aid and Development Aid: Core Debates

When speaking of "aid" it is important to note that there are different types of aid, overlapping in location and concern but with different goals, financial support bases, and modes of operation. A basic distinction can be drawn between humanitarian aid, sometimes called relief, and

development aid. Within both of these categories one finds multilateral aid (as from large organizations like the UN), bilateral aid (government to government), and non-government aid (that which is done by non-governmental organizations, or NGOs). World Renew falls into this latter group, as does ADS, though both are affected by the actions and priorities of multilateral and bilateral aid agreements. NGOs, too, vary in size, from billion dollar budget organizations like World Vision, to the thousands of tiny, local organizations registered with the Kenyan government as NGOs.

Defined simply, humanitarian or relief aid offers immediate, short-term solutions to people in crisis. These situations include relatively short term emergencies such as those caused by natural disasters – floods, tsunamis, earthquakes, etc. – as well as mid-to-longer term issues like displacement, traumas, and shortages caused by civil war, seasonal famines and food insecurities, or chronic shortages such as experienced by extremely marginalized groups, requiring ongoing food or medical aid. The general goal of humanitarian relief is to provide an interim measure of security to people undergoing a disruption of their ordinary lives, to support them until they can resume their self-sufficiency.

In similarly general terms, development aid, on the other hand, seeks to improve the capacity of individuals and communities to be self-sufficient; to move from economic subsistence toward economic flourishing (poverty elimination) or, at least, to a position further and sustainably removed from ongoing imminent destitution (poverty reduction or alleviation).[2] Complex and particular on the ground, development aid addresses economic well-being by seeking to improve capacity in a number of overlapping areas, broadly: health, education, food and water security, and gender issues. The goals of development aid are long-term and highly complex, though development programming tends to be short-term. New development strategy incorporates the goal of disaster risk reduction: using development to mitigate vulnerability to disasters (and thus reduce the time that it takes to recover).

As much as these broad descriptions seem self-evident and inoffensive, the theory and practice of foreign aid is a fraught domain, with the harshest critiques often coming from those most passionate about its possibilities. David Rieff, David Kennedy, and Ian Smillie each criticize the highly politicized nature of humanitarianism, specifically the way that this

[2] Development aid is sometimes also referred to as humanitarian work, but for the most part humanitarianism implies crisis-oriented relief.

politicization is glossed over and camouflaged by the emotionally charged deployment of human rights and crisis discourse for fundraising and to support other interventions and soft diplomacy.

Describing the apolitical humanitarian narrative and the idea of an "international community" as "myth" and "fairytale," Rieff tears down the rhetoric of innocent victims, cruel perpetrators, and heroic aid workers. He points out the actual moral ambiguities and complexities of each role, arguing that this plot line self-perpetuates because it is the most effective narrative for aid organizations to raise funds. The price for this white lie is that humanitarianism becomes a convenient pietist cover for the complexities of crisis and the choices made by governments in these situations.[3] It is, as such, a form of statecraft. Kennedy, too, describes how the humanitarian impulse is co-opted into policy-making, the humanitarian vocabulary of rights and freedoms now an "idiom of statecraft."[4] Smillie, in turn, identifies the political economy of humanitarianism as determined largely by the needs and demands of donor governments (rather than by assessments, abilities, and needs of the field).[5]

Rieff advocates for a more realistic humanitarian practice, that addresses rather than ignores complexities; and Kennedy challenges humanitarian actors to re-envision themselves as contributors to global governance rather than as non-partisan bystanders. Smillie ends his critique with a set of recommendations to reinvigorate the United Nations as a frontline, decision-making, predictably funded organization, in concert with which the NGO community could become defragmented. Each of the authors, though coming to the critique through a different lens, publishes a call to recognize the politics of humanitarianism, and to allow that reality to guide a reconfiguration of humanitarian mechanisms.

The political nature of putatively apolitical aid is a macrocritique also found in literature on development aid. In critique from development studies, this line of discussion harks back to the missionary and imperial "civilizing" project, which many see as the precursor to current development mission and discourse founded on the "us" and "them" relational vision. In *The Anti-Politics Machine*, James Ferguson writes, "Like 'civilization' in the nineteenth century, 'development' is the name not only for a value, but also for a dominant problematic or interpretive grid through which the impoverished regions of the world are known to us [the

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3 Rieff, David. A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis. New York: Simon and Shuster, 2002.

4 Kennedy, David. The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism. Princeton University Press, 2004. p.xvii

5 Smillie, Ian and Larry Minear. The Charity of Nations: Humanitarian Action in a Calculating World. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 2004.

developers; the 'West']."[6] The identification of poverty as "deficiency," he continues, is a moral judgment of a social as well as material lack. What Ferguson critiques is not the idea of development *per se* but rather the idea that the goodness of development is an obvious given. He also rejects the notion of development as an apolitical goal. Describing a process similar to that summarized in Jonathan Z. Smith's famous religious studies axiom, "map is not territory,"[7] Ferguson argues that discourse generated by development institutions functions as an "apparatus" which constructs a development setting. The apparatus reifies a nation, "as a particular kind of object of knowledge, and creates a structure of knowledge around that object."[8] The context and object of (that which is subjected to) development are suspended within a structure – a web – of discourse. Interventions are organized and directed based on this suspended, decontextualized, reconstituted object. Because the constructed object excises crucial aspects of context, continues Ferguson, such interventions inevitably fail. "While failing on its own terms," however, the development apparatus nonetheless effects a depoliticization of "everything it touches, everywhere whisking political realities out of sight" in order to carry forward with the fictional narrative of apolitical interest and action that is the development discourse foundation. All the while it expands and entrenches the bureaucratic state power that is required and necessary for the apparatus to function.[9]

Like Ferguson, James C. Scott, too, describes maps of interest that, while attempting to simplify and categorize territory, simultaneously create new objects, new territories. In *Seeing Like A State*, Scott suggests that many major development disasters can be understood with reference to the "mapping" process of statecraft – the organization of the natural and social world to "make the terrain, its products, and its workforce more legible and, hence, manipulable" – in combination with utopian planning, authoritarian institutions, and an unresisting civil society. The efforts at all-encompassing social engineering that emerge from this combination of factors, for example Jeffrey Sachs' Millennium Villages Project (as described in vibrant, disappointing detail in Nina Munk's *The Idealist*[10]), or any top-down planning, fail because they do not account

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6 Ferguson, James. The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. p.xiii

7 Smith, J.Z. Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion. University of Chicago Press, 1978.

8 Ferguson, xiv

9 Ibid., xiv-xv

10 Munk, Nina. The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty. NY: Doubleday, 2013.

for that which cannot be planned, predicted, or legislated.[11]

Scott's arguments against the viability of an "imperial or hegemonic planning mentality that excludes the necessary role of local knowledge and [practical] know-how" and of "informal processes and improvisations"[12] build on themes already present in his 1976 ethnography, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant.*[13] In this earlier work he describes intricate relations of power between peasants and local landowners and leadership, and how these challenge notions of hegemony and powerlessness that permeate perceptions of economic relations between rich and poor. Scott's work on power and economy complicates the reductionism of development thought that places overly much control in the hands and on the shoulders of Western powers. That said, arguments like Thomas Pogge's, described later in this review, for solidarity and responsibility on the part of Western citizens and governments are not lessened by Scott's critique, but the process is offered a better depth and wisdom. The "resilience of both social and natural diversity" against reductionist schematics limits what is truly grasped about "complex, functioning order." "Real, functioning social order" cannot be made legible or entirely known or mapped by theories and metrics.[14]

Themes addressed by Scott and Ferguson, of de/politicization and functioning social territory, are key to Peter Uvin's analysis in *Aiding Violence* of the pre-genocide development context in Rwanda and how aid unwittingly contributed to the eruption of mass murder. Like the other authors, Uvin argues that all development is a form of political intervention, because it interacts with existing political structures. Most significantly it implicitly tends to interact with and reinforce structural violence by privileging leadership that is in place and by working through existent channels of distribution, communication, and hierarchy. In Rwanda, aid financed social exclusion, relied on humiliating practices (e.g. agricultural techniques first enforced under colonialism), and ignored racism. The "game" of development, writes Uvin, "played out in an almost ritualistic manner,"[15] specializes in quantitative values, but has almost no information on the complex, informal world of feelings, hopes, beliefs, social conflicts, perceptions of development or development actors, aspirations, etc. Criticizing the very notion, Uvin asks,

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[11] Scott, James C. Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998. p.2-5

[12] Ibid., 6-7

[13] Scott, James C. The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

[14] Scott 1998, 6-7

[15] Uvin, Peter. Aiding Violence: the Development Enterprise in Rwanda. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1998. p.5

"What does *development* mean if a country [like Rwanda] that is seemingly succeeding so well at it can descend so rapidly into such tragedy?"[16] Development as the constructionist objectification of countries and peoples, and the depoliticization of contexts, needs a "profound rethinking."[17]

High level critiques like these are especially applicable to large scale, top-down approaches, but they are also indicative of important vulnerabilities within the "development" enterprise as a whole, it's potential for overt or covert appropriation by existing forces and orders that often work against development's positive goals. Similar critiques are also leveled against economic assumptions that tend to be embedded in development strategy, vision, and projections, specifically the assumption that growth is good, and that growth can and will happen in much the same way as it occurred in more developed, i.e. industrialized, parts of the world.

Economist Ha-Joon Chang argues that the mainstream (neoliberal) economics underlying aid strategies and multilateral treaties (e.g. WTO agreements) are based on a wrong view of history, which leads to bad recommendations for poor economies and international trade agreements that are basically "anti-developmental."[18] For one, recommendations and agreements ignore the history of protectionism, subsidies, and discrimination against foreign investors in the pasts of today's leading economies. Second, "currently dominant discourse on development lacks any real notion of development in the sense of the transformation of productive capabilities and structure (and the accompanying social changes)."[19] In light of these weaknesses, Chang presents policy alternatives that he suggests should guide international agreements, actions, and recommendations. In short, these alternatives defy current orthodox economic recommendations, exhorting poor countries to stop cultivating the low-productivity sectors of raw material export and service economy and rather concentrate on building up their long term productive

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16 Ibid., 2

17 Ibid., 8.
Another well-known work offering similar lessons is Robert Klitgaard's *Tropical Gangsters*, which details Klitgaard's experience working for the World Bank in Equatorial Guinea in the 1980s. He relates his personal process of realizing the extent of the political complexities, unknowns, and unpredictables of trying to design and implement practicable measures for continuing aid, illuminating the extent to which ignorance of existent structures of power can reinforce them, and also the extent to which the development process is always already politicized before it even begins. Klitgaard, Robert. Tropical Gangsters: One Man's Experience with Development and Decadence in Deepest Africa. London and New York: I. R. Tauris, 1991.

18 Chang, Ha-Joon. Bad Samaritans: The Guilty Secrets of Rich Nations and the Threat to Global Prosperity. London, UK: Random House Business Books, 2007.
"*Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark: How Development has Disappeared from Today's 'Development' Discourse" in Shahrukh Rafi Khan and Jens Christiansen (eds.), Towards New Developmentalism: Market as Means Rather Than Master. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. p47-58.

19 Chang 2011, 9

capabilities.[20] He then enjoins rich countries to tilt the global playing field in favor of weaker nations until the disparity has significantly decreased.

This shift must be supported by five crucial steps: the explicit incorporation of a "humanistic," and not just material, understanding of development; an eye to "the complexities of the modern political process"; more attention to issues of institutions (e.g. trade unions; welfare state)[21]; and to processes of increasing technological capabilities (e.g. learning, and policies and opportunities for that) as a necessary factor in building productivity; and the urgent "transition to a post-carbon economy before the disaster strikes."[22]

In a recent article, Frederick Bird charts similar ground as Chang, arguing for neither "more" nor "less" of what is normatively understood as economic growth, but for a shift in fundamental views of what "growth" is (or ought to be). Like Chang, Bird sees current issues of poverty and environment as urgent crises. Bird asserts that these are ethical issues and as such can only be resolved "by taking into account and ultimately engaging the fundamental values by which humans live."[23] To this end, and considering the likelihood that such a shift will not occur organically but will have to be implemented via policy, Bird suggests and describes three "normative and practical" principles for change. First, consuming sustainably, in which the currently widespread norm of "sustainability" would be employed "strictly in relation to patterns of consumption… in relation to the earth's ecological limits."[24] Two, "producing productively," that is, making the most effective possible use of all resources. This includes the development and production of what Bird calls "durable generative assets," things like social and physical infrastructure or skilled and educated citizens, long-term assets with capacity to replicate or otherwise increase exponentially within their own and adjacent spheres. Concern with productive (vs. destructive, or terminal) production and of producing durable generative assets must manifest both at home and abroad, and requires better use of all resources, and the fostering of inclusive (vs. extractive and enclave) economic patterns and relationships, domestic and international. Third is "collaborating globally," in which a normative re-envisioning of growth occurs via reciprocating conversations involving all relevant players, on the basis of reliable information.

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[20] Chang 2007, 211

[21] The importance of institutions for inclusive economic practices and development is the main trajectory of Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson's convincing and influential, *Why Nations Fail*.

[22] Chang 2011, 10

[23] Bird, Frederick. "Addressing the Global Crisis of Economic Growth: An Unavoidable Ethical Challenge" in Gary Badcock (ed.), God and the Financial Crisis. Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016. p.3

[24] Ibid., 12

All of these shifts must be considered of utmost urgency.

These recommendations build on Bird's earlier work on international business ethics, in which he urges multinationals to make themselves part of the solution to global poverty, inequity, and injustice, rather than contributing to or participating in these things.[25] Again like Chang, Bird emphasizes a "due regard for history" – how the past shapes the present, and what can be learned from that; and the recognition of flux and contingency, and of the fact that change takes and requires time. In the shift away from economic ahistoricism and anti-developmentalism, international business can lead the way and promote a new common good.

Thomas Pogge, too, corresponds with the thinking on development and growth demonstrated by Bird and Chang. Against the "Purely Domestic Poverty Thesis," which posits that causes for severe poverty lie solely within poor nations themselves, he points to the important role of the current global political economic order which tends to "reflect the interests of the rich countries and their citizens and corporations" over and above the interests of poor nations.[26] Pogge also rejects arguments for aid and charity that petition rich countries as potential donors only. He specifically targets Peter Singer's famous fable of the bystander in an expensive suit, who doesn't hesitate to save a child from drowning in a pond, despite the cost of his suit. Singer employs this analogy to argue for maximum reasonable giving by rich countries and their citizens in *The Life You Can Save*[27] but Pogge states that it is false to rhetorically position rich countries as "mere bystanders" to poverty. Rather, it should be observed that the global economic system upheld and shaped by rich country governments to their benefit contributes to and profits from social factors that "exacerbate severe poverty abroad."[28] Thus Pogge, too, argues for a reorientation and disciplining of global institutions and policies, as well as for the education of rich country citizens on poverty issues, to be better equipped to hold their governments

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[25] See, e.g.: "Fostering the Common Good in Developing Countries: The Respective Responsibilities of States and International Businesses – Preliminary Notes Towards a Political Ethic for International Businesses" in Bernard Hodgson (ed.), The Invisible Hand and the Common Good. NY: Springer, 2004. p424-438; "Perspectives on Global Poverty" in Frederick Bird and Manuel Velasquez, Just Business Practices in a Diverse and Developing World: Essays on International Business and Global Responsibilities. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. p204-240; "Why the Responsible Practice of Business Ethics Calls for a Due Regard for History" *Journal of Business Ethics* Vol. 89, Supplement 2: International Business Firms, Economic Development, and Ethics, 2009. p203-220; with Joseph Smucker and Manuel Vasquez. "Introduction: International Business, Economic Development, and Ethics" *Journal of Business Ethics* Vol. 89, Supplement 2: International Business Firms, Economic Development, and Ethics, 2009. p81-84

[26] Pogge, Thomas W. "'Assisting' the Global Poor." In Deen K. Chatterjee (ed.), The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy. Cambridge University Press, 2004. p260-288. p.264

[27] Singer, Peter. The Life You Can Save: Acting Now to End World Poverty. NY: Random House, 2009.

[28] Pogge, 265

accountable for change.

In his well-regarded book, *The Bottom Billion*, economist Paul Collier offers another challenge to growth-focused development strategy. Inversing, first of all, the usual assessment of global wealth as concentrated in the hands of one billion people while five billion struggle in poverty, Collier argues that there are in fact "a total of five billion people who are already prosperous, or at least are on track to be so, and one billion who are stuck at the bottom."[29] This "bottom billion" and the fifty-four countries within which they are dispersed (what he calls "Africa-plus," since seventy percent of the bottom billion reside in African nations) ought to be the focus of development strategy.

Current growth-focused development strategy aims, writes Collier, for "sustainable, pro-poor growth"; however, "the problem of the bottom billion has not been that they have had the wrong *type* of growth, it is that they have not had *any* growth."[30] *The Bottom Billion* identifies four types of traps, more specific than the "poverty traps" spoken of elsewhere. Poverty, Collier says, should not be considered a trap, since people and nations have escaped poverty. Collier identifies and describes the conflict trap, the natural resources trap, the trap of being landlocked with bad neighbours, and the trap of bad governance in a small country. The nations where the bottom billion live are stuck in one or more of these. Collier then discusses four key policy instruments that he suggests can be used in various combinations and measures to address the heterogeneous contexts and combinations of the traps. Most specifically, and uniquely, Collier argues that because of the types of complex, multi-agency policy interventions required, and because of the internal conflicts that prevent domestic solutions, the traps of the bottom billion nations can only be addressed by G8 leaders, working together. Collier, like Pogge, also argues for the education of misinformed public opinion, which needs to be better informed so that G8 politicians are free to act.

One of the four policy instruments he recommends is aid, judiciously and strategically provided in, for example, post-conflict crisis situations, or to support conflict-preventing measures such as the development of durable generative assets as described by Bird. Aid is not, however, applicable to all situations and should come with an end date.

The pros and cons of "aid," aside from its ideological dimensions, comprises a sub-genre

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[29] Collier, Paul. The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It. Oxford University Press, 2007. p.3

[30] Ibid., 11; italics original.

of development literature more recognizable than most, thanks to a number of well-publicized polemics, most famously Jeffrey Sachs' *The End of Poverty,*[31] William Easterly's riposte to Sachs, *The White Man's Burden*[32], and Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid.*[33] Each of these authors addresses what is most generally understood by the term aid, that is, donations of money and goods to poor nations toward improving the lives of their people.

In *The End of Poverty* Sachs calls for wealthy governments and multilaterals (the IMF and World Bank) to come together for a "big push" of aid on multiple strategic fronts at once, in order to not just alleviate poverty, but eradicate it. Unlike the analysts covered so far in this review, Sachs views economic growth as a systematic (and thus predictable and manipulable) process and pattern that, once begun, is self-sustaining. Mirroring the upward sustainability of development or growth, Sachs posits opposite dynamics of downwardly self-perpetuating processes of poverty, which he calls "poverty traps." Sachs calls the wealthy of the world to boost developing economies out of the poverty trap and onto the first rung of the "development ladder," from where their upward trajectory will continue on its own. Sachs' approach is a quintessential "top-down," systematic, macroeconomic approach, within which rich countries are positioned as responsible bystanders – strategists, experts, donors, and philanthropists – but not as otherwise involved in the problems (except maybe as obstacles to his vision). He does not take into careful account microcultural and socio-economic subtleties nor, it seems, does he have great regard for history in his assessment of processes of change. Though Sachs is roundly criticized for his generalist, idealist approach, he is very influential on development aid praxis by top level (and therefore also by smaller) development organizations. Sachs is supported and paralleled by other leaders in the development field, e.g., Stephen Lewis, who calls for a giant boost in foreign aid to address HIV/AIDS, which he argues is the root of continuing economic struggles in African nations,[34] and Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn in their work on gender inequality and its economic repercussions for developing economies, *Half the Sky*.[35]

Opposite Sachs, and one of his most recognized critics, is William Easterly, who describes

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[31] Sachs, Jeffrey D. The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time. Penguin Press, 2005.

[32] Easterly, William. The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good. Penguin Press, 2006.

[33] Moyo, Dambisa. Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa. NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.

[34] Lewis, Stephen. Race Against Time: Searching for Hope in AIDS-Ravaged Africa. CBC Massey Lectures Series, 2005. Toronto, ON: House of Anansi Press, 2005.

[35] Kristof, Nicholas and Sheryl WuDunn. Half the Sky: Turning Oppression Into Opportunity for Women Worldwide. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009.

top-down, "big push," structural adjustment, and other such programs as contemporary iterations of the "White Man's Burden," in his book of that name. By this he suggests that typical multilateral and bilateral approaches to economic aid bear ideological and practical similarities to colonial incursions into what are now third world, developing economies, that is, a view of these places and peoples as materially, civilizationally, and mental-morally retarded. Such a view justifies and legitimates paternalistic policy that purports to be for the good of the poor but which mostly reinforces the superiority as well as advantage of the wealthy, re-entrenching the need for aid in a vicious cycle disguised as virtue.

While not against aid *per se*, Easterly argues that large-scale plans can't work, that cultural-social histories and informal social arrangements have to be taken into account, and that aid must therefore be flexible, responsive, piecemeal, and localized. The two best ways to use aid are in the establishment of free markets and democracies because of the in-built accountability, or checks and balances, of these institutions. Recognizing, however, that these can not be implemented or demanded, Easterly advocates using aid to support what he calls "Searchers." Searchers are innovators within poor populations, who are finding solutions to needs within their own environments and whose entrepreneurial insights can, ideally, be brought to scale.

The type of innovators Easterly describes are also referred to "social entrepreneurs," an idea found in various books that advocate market capitalism-based strategies for reducing poverty from the "bottom" up. Most of these authors see themselves as talking about investment, rather than aid, in local, small-scale initiatives with the possibility for moderate, local growth (vs. Sachs' use of "local" to mean "national," and the idea of scaling up from already large foreign direct investment [FDI] in manufacturing as found, for example, in export processing zones). In *Out of Poverty*, Paul Polak urges use of the venture capital investment perspective in development practice, that is, seeing the bottom billion as, essentially, a vast, untapped market.[36] Polak's idea is that outside investors should buy into local innovations in order to finance large-scale production and wide disbursement. The design of new products and market interests should be oriented to the bottom ninety percent, not the richest ten percent. Investors will earn money, but the investments will also manufacture and distribute affordable goods to interested buyers,

[36] Polak, Paul. Out of Poverty: What Works When Traditional Approaches Fail. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2009.
See also Prahalad, C.K. The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid: Eradicating Poverty Through Profits. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing, 2004. Through case studies, Prahalad address the bottom four billion as a massive, and erroneously excluded potential market.

since market measurements are, according to Polak, practical ways to assess effectiveness and need (presumably without the influences of advertising and consumer culture). Unlike foreign aid and big pushes, he argues, the market approach involves measured investments for big impact, rather than massive investments for few results.

Similar perspectives are found in other works, like Jacqueline Novogratz's *The Blue Sweater*,[37] which advocates "patient capital," or long-term, slow-return investments in private innovations by local entrepreneurs. As in Polak's vision, there should be the potential to go to scale and thus supply essential services and help solve public problems through means disciplined by the rigor of market and business demands. While this type of investment could also be a type of aid, or a use of aid money, it differs from traditional disbursements through loans, grants, or charitable donations. Unlike these channels of aid, investment capital demands a high level of accountability and is targeted to existing products and businesses with strong potential for productive growth of the kind advised by Chang and Bird, and so it is not only a growth mechanism but is also less fiscally and politically fungible.

Dambisa Moyo, in *Dead Aid*, argues for a complete end to bilateral and multilateral aid (except in certain critical circumstances), a position well beyond Easterly's more tempered vision and the opposite of Sachs' pro-aid big push arguments. Aid works against the establishment of the financial stability necessary to grow economies and pull people out of poverty, she argues, because the leaders of recipient nations are greedy and unaccountable, which behavior the West enables with aid. Instead, Moyo advocates a market-based solution, namely an increase of FDI along lines that strengthen developing markets and industry, a task that the local government must see to, but that is also still attractive to investors. My view is that Moyo gives, ironically, too much credit to the corrupt governments she casts as buffer and negotiator between citizens and markets. Further, her vision is yet another top-down, macroeconomic approach that when speaking of "local" means "national," thereby planning for all the changes to occur at the elite level and banking on a trickle down which is unlikely to happen, given corruption and the general poor performance of trickle down economics.

That said, Moyo's critique of aid is well-placed and coheres well with analyses of the nature and means of productivity and socio-historical responsiveness so far discussed in this

[37] Novogratz, Jacqueline. The Blue Sweater: Bridging the Gap Between Rich and Poor in an Interconnected World. NY: Rodale, 2009.

review. The following thinkers, after whom I move to the review of literature on development and religion, represent two different but complementary approaches to reaching and evaluating potential means of addressing issues at local and national levels through microinitiatives and policy innovations. Flexible and adaptive, these perspectives are equipped to take into account critiques and concerns such as those covered here about ideology, history, development, and aid.

Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo's pathbreaking work through J-PAL[38] at MIT is exemplified in a series of case studies presented in their book, *Poor Economics*. Against the "lazy, formulaic thinking"[39] of much development and aid planning, Banerjee and Duflo argue convincingly the importance of examining the real reasons behind the choices that poor people make, even and especially when their actions seem counterproductive to observers. This is a call to listen carefully to the poor and their decision-making logic and to take this into account in anti-poverty strategy. Further, any poverty alleviation idea has to be subjected to rigorous, localized empirical testing. The authors argue for and are themselves involved in using RCTs (Randomized Control Trials), of the kind used in clinical testing, for development field research. Together, these priorities support a flexible, pragmatic approach that builds on what the poor already do (and, thus, what they are evidently capable of and what is normal) rather than trying to implement through force or bribery manufactured, theoretical ideals that are unlikely to be sustained for the long term. The results of these RCTs are meant to influence policy on aid.

Economist Amartya Sen and political theorist Martha Nussbaum are often cast together as proponents of the "capabilities approach" to development. Though many of the principles they espouse are the same, their intentions for and philosophies behind the approach differ somewhat.

Sen's goal is to provide an overarching theory for a definition and goals of "development" writ large; to supplement, clarify, and tie together existing approaches. For Sen, "freedoms" – "real" freedoms – are necessary to and constitutive of development, that is, are both means and ends of development processes, of instrumental *and* intrinsic value. The term freedom, for Sen, is interchangeable with "capability," which is defined as actual, real possibilities and options, and not merely appearances, like the existence of rights. In addition to choice beyond the illusion or appearance of choice, freedom or capability also requires an attractiveness of options (for example, the real freedom to choose between exploitation or destitution, between abuse and being

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[38] The Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab <http://www.povertyactionlab.org/>

[39] Banerjee, Abhijit and Esther Duflo. Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty. NY: PublicAffairs, 2011. p.272

fired, is still not in Sen's framework a freedom). Finally, actual freedoms – Sen lists freedom of transaction (for a free market) or freedom of reproduction, among many – need to be supported by knowledge, practices, and institutions such as those described by Bird and Chang.

"Development," then, is the real presence of "the capabilities of people to do things – and the freedom to live lives – that they have reason to value."[40] Poverty and non-development is the inverse: capability deprivation, or fundamental *un*freedoms. In *Development as Freedom*, Sen details how freedoms are mutually constitutive and unfreedoms likewise so, and ways that development as freedom can be measured. The United Nations Human Development Index, for example, utilizes the capabilities approach to expand development measurements from GDP and aggregated statistics, an expansion emphasized by both Sen and Nussbaum as necessary for realistic information about development.

Though Nussbaum's basic definition of capabilities – as real possibilities necessarily supported by policy (the argument to this effect is her major project) – is essentially the same as Sen's, she arrives at the capabilities approach via somewhat different means. This shapes differently the capabilities she argues for as central, as well as her underlying vision of capabilities themselves. Coming from within ethics and political theory, Nussbaum favors an Aristotelian valuation of diversity and plurality which challenges formulaic, aggregative and purely material approaches. Like Chang, Nussbaum argues for the consideration of human, not just material, values.

Nussbaum's capabilities approach emerges from and expresses concern with basic social justice, human dignity, and "entrenched social injustice and inequality."[41] She tasks governments with a key question for policy development, "What is each [individual] person able to do and to be?" That is, what are the real opportunities available to each person. Government and policy are charged with cultivating and promoting for citizens the real option to access the crucial public good of a basic level of opportunities, or, "substantial freedoms."[42]

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[40] Sen, Amartya. Development as Freedom. New York: Knopf, 1999. p.85

[41] Nussbaum, Martha. Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011. p.19. In this book she allows for the interchangeable usage of the terms "human development approach" and "capabilities approach."
See also Nussbaum's Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000) for an earlier but basically identical (the 2011 publication is meant to be a more accessible work) formulation of the approach.

[42] This is not a prescriptive framework in which governments compel citizens to make any particular choices – Nussbaum, and Sen as well, is careful to make clear that the concern is with the freedom, or capability, and not with functionings, or what the individual actually chooses. However, Nussbaum does identify what she considers

Within Nussbaum's flexible list of ten "central capabilities" the capability of "Senses, Imagination, and Thought" includes recognition of the central value of religious practice for many individuals' well-being. As an example of her view of the policy responsibility for freedoms, a government is responsible to establish laws to ensure that individuals have the real freedom and opportunity to practice the religion of their choice. However, a government should not compel people to practice any religion. Further, a religion's right to utilize an individual for the greater good of the group should not be protected by law; Nussbaum offers the example of religions in which the certain fundamental freedoms of female members are constrained, e.g. freedom of transaction or movement. Nussbaum's sensitive treatment of women's rights and religious freedom, and moments they may conflict, demonstrates the value of a complex understanding of cultures and traditions, as well as the potential value of the capabilities approach as a way to negotiate the sometimes difficult terrain of "thick" development praxis.[43]

ii. Religion and Development

Among many things, religion is a widespread, social, localized discourse, one means of many by which people attempt to order and make sense of the world. Given the effectiveness of such forces, the world that people inhabit and seek to order also consists in part of religious and other efforts to categorize and "map" human beings and their lives toward something systematic and enclosed. Insofar as it is an alternative self- and world-view, however, and insomuch as this contributes to the complication of things reduced or effaced, religion also acts as a counter-hegemonic, heterodox praxis, part of the plurality and specificity that development experts are enjoined to consider.

James Howard Smith, in his engrossing ethnography and analysis, *Bewitching*

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a set of fundamental universal human needs, based on what she argues are universal norms: human value, dignity, and quality of life, with a view of each person as an end in him/herself (i.e. not a means to other ends). The list is flexible and intended as an exemplary baseline for minimum standards of "fully human" life. Again, this is with the goal of arriving at public policy, or interventions, that assures (and protects) these minimum freedoms, without with larger or other types of freedoms cannot be achieved. This assurance is "a necessary condition of social justice." (Nussbaum 2011, 40)

The recognition that these basic freedoms will take different forms as well as being present or absent at varying levels depending on context means that though there may be universal human needs these can only be met through adaptive, responsive, local processes and institutions. Nussbaum points to the "respectful complexity" found in, for example, the constitutions and founding documents of most nations as offering the type of rich and complicated understanding of society that she sees as needing to be attained by "the theories that dominate policy-making in the new global order," especially international law and treaties such as those which affect the domestic priorities of developing nations (Nussbaum 2011, 186)

[43] Nussbaum 2000. Chapter three, "The Role of Religion." Especially sections I. "Religious Liberty and Sex Equality: A Dilemma" (pp.168-174) and VI. "Applying the Approach: The Three Cases" (pp.235-240).

Development, observes how the Taita of Kenya's Coast Province respond to shifts in their local political economy attributed to "development" with discourse and practices of witchcraft, the use of occult (secret) means to access and control the spirit realm, as well as by appropriating development discourse into an interpretive, critical grid of their own.

In his research, rather than define development as a social process instigated by outsiders with the goal of transforming a social milieu, Smith examines the subjective meanings of development as "a relational concept that entails comparing one's condition to an ideal representation of other places and times to explain and measure circumstances and actions."[44] He traces "Africans' actions on the ground as they work to transform the present" through witchcraft and appropriation, focusing on "how development becomes a prism for reimagining order and progress when established mechanisms for achieving development – such as state patronage and formal employment – have been thrown asunder."[45] "Development" is fused with traditional views to create an alternative means of world ordering and an implicit critique of current ordering.

His approach to development as an African practice of creative reordering is "an effort to palliate the Afro-fatalism that characterizes public, and much academic, discourse regarding the state of affairs on the continent."[46] This is a research priority I share and that parallels the concerns and analyses of Ferguson and Scott in their critiques of the idealized notion of hegemony, [47] and of pretenses to total categorization and mapping by statecraft or "developmentcraft." Smith's observation that "diverse local communities deploy concepts of witchcraft as a field of knowledge to catalyze and safeguard their emerging sovereignty, sometimes against the state and sometimes in collusion with it," [48] exemplifies Scott and Ferguson's observations about complex, functioning society. The statement also highlights ambivalence of religion and the powers with which one engages through religious affiliation, a principle that emerges repeatedly in my research.

Erica Bornstein's ethnography of faith-based NGOs in Zimbabwe, *The Spirit of Development*, is the second of the two Africa-based ethnographies on religion and development

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[44] Smith, James Howard. Bewitching Development: Witchcraft and the Reinvention of Development in Neoliberal Kenya. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. p.4

[45] Ibid., 4

[46] Ibid., 5

[47] See especially Scott's Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

[48] Smith, 245

aid I have found. Bornstein connects with a trajectory of anthropological research in Africa that chronicles intersections of Christianity with African traditions, and she also, like Smith, describes a local instance of witchcraft in response to development.[49] Bornstein examines the work of two Christian international development organizations, World Vision and Christian Care, looking at how faith impacts their development praxis and their organizational structures, and also describing their interactions with witchcraft paradigms in Zimbabwe. Within this, she develops an analysis of neoliberal economic guidelines and the modernist underpinnings of these as themselves an(other) form of religious incursion,[50] alongside the overt religiosity of World Vision and Christian Care. She takes the Weberian position that this form of capitalism is strongly linked with contemporary Christianity.

Bornstein addresses the politics of faith and moral struggle in international development, demonstrating "the significant influence of Christianity in the economic development of Southern Africa"[51] and the incorrectness of Western assumptions of a distinction between religious and secular development spheres. She draws, for example, parallels between "holistic" Christian "lifestyle" evangelism and "earlier missionary discourses… about correct ways of living, about being 'civilized,' and about progress."[52]

At the same time, she argues that "faith-based development… provides a space in which to negotiate and contest realms not evident in strictly economic discourse,"[53] realms that witchcraft seeks to control and reveal through more occult means. Because of its overt spirituality, "the faith in faith-based development gives voice to the morality of development."[54] Similarly to Smith, she argues that systems of belief help people "order their worlds and make

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[49] Bornstein, Erica. The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe. Stanford University Press, 2005.
Some well-known works within the long tradition of approaching Africa through the lens of Christianity, or of Western culture in the form of Christianity, include: Jean and John Comaroff's Of Revelation and Revolution. Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa; and Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier. University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997; Birgit Meyer's Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999; and Nancy Rose Hunt's A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.

[50] Also reading modernity as an incursion triggering response via the sacred, see Jean and John Comaroff, Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa. University of Chicago Press, 1993; and Peter Geschiere, The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

[51] Ibid., 12

[52] Ibid., 4; see also pp.49, 145

[53] Ibid., 170

[54] Ibid., 170

sense of experience," including economic worlds and experiences of prosperity, poverty, and development.[55]

Her work, too, supports and reflects the arguments of several theorists covered earlier. Like Ferguson, and Scott in *Seeing Like A State*, and also affining with Uvin's point of view, Bornstein identifies a "politics of transcendence,"[56] enabled by two transcendent discourses, that of the Kingdom of God and that of the free market. Divorced from socio-political and structural realities, these discourses "efface" the socio-political role of transnational NGOs as agents of wealthy nations and international civil society.[57] For example, in addition to "codifying" existing power relations through participatory processes demanded by donors, political and economic discontent in Zimbabwe was "pacified" by World Vision and Christian Care, as they worked with the state and did not address the unrest in their work.[58]

Further, like Pogge, Bornstein not only critiques this silencing characteristic of transnational aid arrangements, but goes on to link this with a critique of the notion of charitable giving as an appropriate response to what are in significant part issues of systemic disparity that favor donor nations and local leaders. She writes, "Efforts to assist the poor through institutionalized forms of assistance tend to efface the politics that categorize those in 'need'; how the poor become poor is no longer questioned. In Zimbabwe… charitable giving supports the status quo by mitigating extreme forms of social differentiation."[59] Within this depoliticized, transcendentalized context, "witchcraft narratives provided apparently 'neutral' [read: depoliticized] questions of economic development."[60] Such issues as, e.g., why one community and not another received a borehole, by this reordering and representation were in effect *re*politicized through the lens of witchcraft and so brought to the fore that which was left out by the spiritual discourse of the Christian organizations, giving voice to the temporality of development.

As a growing field, beginning its emergence as a topic in and of itself only in the late 1990s, "Religion and Development" (or "RaD") is approached from a wide variety of

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55 Ibid., 2
56 Ibid., 97
57 Ibid., 119, 129, 132, 171. In Bornstein's well-regarded analysis of child sponsorship programs and relationships between sponsoring families and sponsored children, part of this book, she also describes how those relationships also efface the socio-political aspects of the poverty with which they engage, as well as the unexpected repercussions of sponsoring poor children abroad.
58 Ibid., 119-122; 97ff
59 Ibid., 171
60 Ibid., 150

perspectives, each concerned with some vital component or interpretation of the religion and development interface. Given the vast number of possible combinations of various religion and development communities, locations, and strategies, not to mention the theoretical broadness of both Religious Studies and Development Studies, this is a convergence that has been prised apart for examination relatively negligibly.

A good portion of what exists is geared toward explaining the importance of recognizing religion/s as an aspect of society that cannot be set aside when it comes to economic and other considerations of development, but needs to be taken seriously as an influence on individuals and institutions. This literature is in part a conversation between religionists working toward the best articulation of the theme, but it has an implied audience of development studies scholars, Western policy makers, and the leadership of international organizations.

Speaking to "policy makers in the West," "Western development organizations," human rights activists, and humanitarians, for example, Gerrie ter Haar argues that religion must be recognized as "a form of active engagement with a world of invisible powers [which] has a bearing on people's views of the material world and the ways they deal with it." [61] The examination of religion has to go beyond the organizational structures and systems that have received attention, and move into "the inspiration people derive from their religious ideology."[62] For example, a religious "pattern of understanding [e.g. notions of evil] is a social fact that should impose itself on any coherent analysis" and should be "exploited" for its development potential."[63]

Kathy Marshall is prominent for her work on the potential and importance of, specifically, the World Bank becoming conversant with "the world of faith"[64] in order to strengthen its socio-economic development praxis. She outlines the myriad ways that faith communities have undertaken humanitarian enterprises globally,[65] practices that have mostly remained completely

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[61] ter Haar, Gerrie. How God Became African: African Spirituality and Western Secular Thought. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. pp.150, 32, 72, 15
Wendy Tyndale's set of case studies in Visions of Development: Faith-Based Initiatives (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006) is a good example of the type of effort ter Haar has in mind.

[62] Ibid., 86

[63] Ibid., 99; 86

[64] Marshall, Katherine. "Faith and Development: Rethinking Development Debates." The World Bank, Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics. June 2005. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/PARTNERS/EXTDEVDIALOGUE/0,,contentMDK:20478626~menuPK:64192472~pagePK:64192523~piPK:64192458~theSitePK:537298,00.html> p.1

[65] Marshall, Katherine and Marisa Van Saanen. Development and Faith: Where Mind, Heart, and Soul Work Together. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2007. p.2ff

separate from World Bank undertakings in the same places even though the aims of both parties are largely the same. She describes steps that have been taken to bridge the divide, and some of the tensions within that process, concluding that, despite salient differences and criticisms from within both types of organization, faith and development institutions strongly agree "that humanity's most critical challenge is to end acute poverty and fight for social justice" and so it is worthwhile for the World Bank "to build a new kaleidoscope of alliances and partnerships with faith-based organizations."[66]

To this end, and as part of such alliances, Marshall recommends developing "standards and mechanisms for faith literacy among development institutions, so they are familiar with the actors and their work, and to promote development literacy among faith communities, so they better understand secular agencies and the means and ends of their programs."[67] She also suggests expanding, or supporting, the expansion of "the organizational capacity of the development arms of faith and interfaith groups, which are often fragmented and fragile,"[68] presumably an expansion facilitated by the World Bank (an affiliation which seems to bear potential for many of the issues of depoliticization pointed to by other authors, given the economic history and powers of the World Bank). Her research and attendant recommendations are "premised on the assumption that parties all too rarely mine practical experience – which often diverges from the best laid plans – for its lessons."[69] Her recent and current work presents ways that faith-based development organizations grapple with the particularities of their circumstances.

The majority of work regarding the importance and relevance of religion in development contexts also goes on to assert that this can be understood as an as yet untapped asset that can and ought to be leveraged and exploited. Marshall suggests that partnerships will make available grassroots knowledge and experience currently inaccessible to the secular World Bank, while Matthew Clarke's edited volume examines how faith as an impetus for development aims can be incorporated *into* development theory and praxis.[70] John Rees, in explaining the salience of religion and of understanding, specifically, faith communities themselves (rather than, e.g., faith-

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66 Marshall 2005, 11. See also Marshall 2007, chapter 1.
67 Marshall 2007, 10
68 Ibid., 10
69 Ibid., 14
70 Clarke, Matthew (ed). Handbook of Research on Development and Religion. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2013.

based organizations or other faith institutions or representatives), suggests that excluding such communities from the study of international relations means missing out on better understanding of counter-hegemonic activity in the South that may be supported by or rooted in religious ideas or communities. Not speaking strictly of religion-affiliated terrorism, he argues that the agency of faith community actors should be calculated into the "development agenda."[71] Faith communities are a site of informal goals that can highlight lacunae in development programming and they thus function as sources of explicit and implicit "critique of dominant development priorities" and contestation of the international development agenda.[72] To leave this unrecognized, he continues, leaves aside "an unrealized analytical resource at a time when it is perhaps needed more than ever."[73]

Published in 2011, Rees's work repeats many points made by other authors regarding the importance of recognizing religion as a socio-structural fact, at a time when most major multilateral organizations have already conceded the point and taken steps toward incorporating it (e.g. the World Bank's Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics; the UNHCR's 2012 High Commissioner's Dialogue on Faith and Protection, and follow up research). However, Rees suggests that international organizations like the UN, ILO, WHO and World Bank have tended to "co-opt" and even "help create – a certain kind of 'multilateral religion' that is palatable to mainstream global interests to the exclusion of more dissident religious views that challenge such interests"[74] and that it would be of more value to engage with the more challenging views.

Ter Haar's 2011 edited volume presents some such challenging views, through a collection of essays dedicated to "taking religion seriously" in development work, focusing on "insider" knowledge and experiences that, she argues, "can help resolve complex issues regarding development."[75] To "make maximum use of whatever resources exist for development purposes," ter Haar recommends studying and integrating the religious ideas that inspire and motivate people, in order to empower people through spiritual means, part of what she calls an "integral development strategy"[76] that incorporates the material and the spiritual. This "new

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[71] Rees, John A. Religion in International Politics and Development: The World Bank and Faith Institutions. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2011. p.144
[72] Ibid., 144
[73] Ibid., 147
[74] Ibid., 148
[75] ter Haar, Gerrie (ed). Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World. NY: Columbia University Press, 2011. p.4
[76] Ibid., 14

vision of what development means, and how it can be translated into specific policies" is, she asserts, necessary "for sustainable development to take place in those countries where development has been least successful,"[77] that is, the countries of the bottom billion.

Again, the possibilities for analyses of this type are almost limitless, and the work requires rigor and investment not readily available on the wide scale most favored by the multilateral organizations that could get the most use out of it. Ben Jones' comparative study of institutional survival in a post-violence context, looking at Pentecostal churches and secular NGOs in Eastern Uganda, for example, suggests convincingly that differences in institutional longevity come from "how institutions are made sense of by people living in a particular place."[78] The church network he examines offers narratives and symbolism that people are able to relate to their lives, and especially their experiences of violent insurgency. In comparison, he writes, secular development efforts in the area lack this interpretive resonance and therefore the resulting connectivity with the community.[79] With churches and development projects forming "part of the same landscape across much of rural Africa,"[80] a conclusion like Jones's has significant appeal for possibilities of analytical and strategic scaling up.

And yet numerous issues present themselves immediately, such as the fact that there are many denominations of church in Africa and that, often, these denominations come with political or tribal affiliation and baggage – the violence may even be religiously motivated, based in Christianity or another tradition. One would also have to consider the different histories of Christianity in various regions of Africa, and dynamics of power, or lack thereof, associated with the incursion of Western religions. Further, the short-lived nature of secular development projects is largely built in to the strategies they use and so may have little to do with their non-religiousness. Similar types of appreciative and cautious response can be given to any local study that suggests a wider applicability.[81] That said, however, such studies and their conclusions do suggest and prepare pathways for inquiry into similar questions or scenarios in different contexts,

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77 Ibid., 24

78 Jones, Ben. "The Making of Meaning: Churches, Development Projects and Violence in Eastern Uganda." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol.43, 2013. 74-95. p.74

79 Ibid., 90-91

80 Ibid., 75

81 E.g. Elizabeth Watson and Hassan Kochore's study of Boran and Gabra pastoralists in Northern Kenya, based on which they suggest "that indigenous religions provide a valuable and integrated set of institutions that could potentially facilitate adaptation to climate change." (319) Watson, Elizabeth E. and Hassan Hussein Kochore. "Religion and Climate Change in Northern Kenya: New Moral Frameworks for New Environmental Challenges?" *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture*, Vol.6, No.3, 2012. 319-343.

and may thus help guide the process and analysis even if results may differ.[82]

Within the field of Religious Studies, especially anthropology of religion, numerous scholars, some of whom I have discussed already, have produced detailed work on ways that development and religion interact, and have suggested reasons that religious and development discourse seem to have strong areas of affinity or overlap. Some of this affinity is argued to be related to the fact that both development and religion are practices that involve and facilitate interaction with realms of unseen powers, and that there are, like religious ritual specialists, "high priests" of development, who are experts in accessing and directing the benefits (as well as detriments) of development, such as water, wealth, and prestige.

Jill DeTemple, by comparison, observes that "a religiously engaged reading of development… emphasizes that development is and has been a discourse that operates in the same social, ideological, and historical spaces as religion," in which "at the same time that secular development programs elided Christian eschatological goals of salvation with modern ideals of progress [an aspect of the "rightful ascendancy of the West" articulated in terms of divine will], many Christian organizations adopted modernist and humanist development strategies in their religious missions."[83] (For example, the "whole person" philosophies described by Bornstein and which are described in this thesis as well.) In light of this, DeTemple concludes, not only is it important "to unpack the religious dimensions of international development programs," but there is a need, as well, "for a greater attentiveness… to the ways in which development has and does affect religious lives, identities, and interpretations."[84] The affinity and overlap, in other words, is also in some part dialectic.

Others articulate various ways in which the history of development in Western Christianity continues in development praxis and discourse today. Bornstein, as noted, describes how the goals of development as articulated by faith-based organizations align with the goals of neoliberal capitalist and consumerist priorities and aspirations; how, in other words, Western Christianity carries within itself the economic emphases of Western culture, as well as the

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[82] Survey texts like the following, as well as Clarke's and ter Haar's, already mentioned, comprise some attempt to do this, and to critique and troubleshoot the process:
Carbonnier, Gilles (ed). International Development Policy: Religion and Development. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013; Goldewijk, Berma Klein (ed). Religion, International Relations and Development Cooperation. Wageningen, The Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2007; Tomalin, Emma (ed). The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development. NY: Routledge, 2015.

[83] DeTemple, Jill. "Imagining Development: Religious Studies in the Context of International Economic Development." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol.81, No. 1, March 2013. 107-129. pp.114, 113

[84] Ibid., 111, 125

frameworks and terminology with which to cope with the moral issues attendant to such economic behaviors. Ter Haar, by comparison, suggests that the "genealogy" of development in the Western Christian religions "can be seen as the secular translation of the Christian belief that the Kingdom of God, in which all things will be perfect, will eventually arrive." The telos of development "reflects the Christian idea of humankind as pilgrims on the road to the final destination, where life will be as originally intended by its creator."[85] Such a vision of human existence is also one of the motivating visions that ter Haar suggests is important for secular institutions to understand and be able to strategically leverage.

Another area of the religiosity of development is identified by Lucas Johnston, who remarks on the religious origins, religion-like beliefs and values, and religious function "as a sort of social glue"[86] of sustainability discourse. It is through its religious dimensions that, Johnston argues, "the social functions of sustainability have been realized."[87] Along with the ambivalence and flexibility of the term "sustainability" and the resulting high "potential for co-optation" by various, even opposing, stakeholders, the term "often acts as a shorthand reference to the core values, beliefs, and practices that particular individuals or groups would like to see persist over the long term."[88] Finally, when used to connect "affective states with political issues… the idea of sustainability is a political religion, doing religious work."[89]

Foci on the religious dimensions of development work clearly vary, and in many ways overlap with, especially, critical concerns regarding development that are also highlighted by scholars outside of the Religious Studies discipline. To link the work of Religious Studies and Development Studies, Nathan Loewen observes that there is much to be contributed from within Religious Studies in terms of terminology imprecisely employed by non-experts in religion, as well as in preventing analysis and strategy from being weakened by essentialist conceptions of religion. In his broad strokes overview of scholarship to date, Loewen suggests that "there needs to be a compilation of critically robust research on religious conceptions of well-being, poverty, wealth, and social flourishing," which could "help scholars devise methods and means of creating religious literacy for development studies scholars." He also asserts that specialists in religion

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85 ter Haar 2011, 16-17

86 Johnston, Lucas F. "Sustainability as a Global Faith? The Religious Dimensions of Sustainability and Personal Risk." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol.82, No.1, March 2014. 47-69. p.48

87 Ibid., 47

88 Ibid., 54, 47

89 Ibid., 49

ought to "reflect upon how the established areas of inquiry within Religious Studies could contribute to development studies."[90]

Within Religious Studies literature on development, my work offers an in-depth examination and exposition of the types of religious conceptions Loewen mentions, as found within the Christian Reformed Church community; how they affect and are manifested in constructions of development aid, of obligation, and of possibility. My research also provides analysis of certain structures, conceptions, and processes of well-being within the Kenyan communities I visited, well-being that is facilitated directly and indirectly by the development arm and socio-structural history of the Anglican Church of Kenya. For development studies, this cross-cultural, international ethnography offers insights into the logics and praxis of many Protestant Christian groups, both wealthy and poor, at home and abroad, since the conceptions, structures, and processes that I describe are, if not identically present, broadly and similarly discoverable in some form in most North American Christianities, as well as in many post-colonial African contexts. As recommended by Scott, Ferguson, Chang, Bird, and others, and as demonstrated in different contexts by Smith and Bornstein, among many, my dissertation also shows that and how particularities of history and place create unique constellations of desires, aims, priorities, and possibilities, for donors, for institutions, and for people seeking to escape severe poverty. This type of information matters for development programming and planning, for understanding why what fails fails, why what works works, and how to adjust the former to become more of the latter.

III. Method and Theory

This dissertation uses primary qualitative data from fieldwork and archives in combination with historical, theological, and development studies literature. I employ anthropological and sociological method and analysis, strongly informed by the phenomenological understanding of these disciplines. I additionally use tools from moral philosophy and organizational strategy. The qualitative data was generated over the course of nine months of field research: six months in Kenya, and three months in Alberta, Canada. Additionally for the Alberta and World Renew research, I combed through over fifty years of archived records from annual meetings of Synod (the CRCNA main governing body) to glean primary data on the history of World Renew and

[90] Loewen, N. "The Religious Dimension in Development Studies." *Bulletin for the Study of Religion*, Vol.40, No.1, February 2011. 24-29. p.27

attitudes within the CRCNA toward aid, poverty, and the developing world.

During the six months of fieldwork in Kenya, I spent approximately one month each at ADS stations in Western and Central Kenya, and in the ADS region known as Mount Kenya East. I also had the opportunity for short trips to Turkana-Pokot, in the northwest; and to the southern Coast region. My field methods consisted of participant observation, formal group and individual interviews, and informal conversations, as well as the experiential learning that comes with traveling on one's own and on a small budget.

The three months of fieldwork in Alberta, Canada, were significantly different, for two main reasons. Logistically, interviews were far easier to conduct. Thanks to good roads and the Canadian culture of time-keeping, interviews began and ended on schedule, which made it possible to conduct as much (or more) formal research in three months in Alberta as I had accomplished in six months in Kenya. Second, in many ways the Albertan community I researched is "my" community. That is, they, like me, are white, Canadian, of Dutch background, raised in the CRC, and living in Alberta (where I was raised). My subjects and I often knew people in common, thanks to "Dutch bingo" and the tight bonds of the CRC network in Western Canada. At the same time, unlike me, most of my interviewees were over the age of fifty, often retired, well-established in the upper or upper-middle economic class, born in Holland or to immigrant parents, and lifelong Christians and CRC members, whereas I left the faith as a teen, and moved away from Alberta over a decade ago. This "insider-outsider" position permitted a much quicker establishment of rapport than could usually happen in Kenya, as well as certain discursive shortcuts. At the same time my questions were genuine, and many of my preconceptions were disabused during this learning process.

The phenomenological influence in this dissertation is visible in the inclusion of detailed political-economic and religio-cultural backgrounds for each of the groups addressed in the dissertation (chapters two, three, and five). I refer to these backgrounds in the analyses, as ongoing influences on the behaviors I examine. The importance of context is more or less a given in the social sciences, especially in light of post-modern, deconstructionist critiques, and takes up significant space in development debates as well, as seen in the literature review. My personal concern for such particulars has been influenced especially by Charles Long, Michael Jackson, Pierre Bourdieu, Charles Taylor, Michael Walzer, and Martha Nussbaum, among whom I see a phenomenological bent in common.

Long, Jackson, Bourdieu, and Taylor make clear from within their respective disciplines the extent to which one's perspectives are shaped by one's literal and conscious horizons. This embeddedness, in part an embodiedness, is, for Walzer and Nussbaum, the possible source of moral universals that can be used to connect people across ideological differences, or to establish broad principles for human rights.

Charles Long's phenomenology takes from Husserl and from philosophy on the black American experience of and after slavery. It is a phenomenology of both "embodiedness" and structures, the fact of embodiedness being what puts humans into contact – oppression, opposition, invisibility – with various socio-economic and cultural structures. What struck me about Long's discussion, my first encounter with the phenomenological perspective as such, was how he suggests the black experience in American can be understood – and simultaneously, how it is very difficult for whites to understand – as linked to a physically different position within, and thus orientation to, the literal, physical, geographical, spatial, architectural, interhuman topography of America. This difference in position is rooted in the oppressed, segregated, shackled, hunched over, punished posture of the slave, as well as the slaves' dual self-consciousness in relation to owners and in relation to his/herself and fellow slaves, and, later, the American black's position as second-class or invisible citizen. The difference of experience between whites and blacks is a difference based on existing in different places, and this creates different worldviews, literally and intellectually.

From Husserl (*Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*) Long takes the notion of "pre-objective" thought as "based on human physis [*sic*]… on corporeality, and… the bodies of the individual human beings…".[91] While Husserl is talking about a material basis (the body) for human spirituality, the soul, and community, Long goes on to connect this notion with that found in Georges Gusdorf's statement that "La réflexion est pourtant toujours réflexion d'une réalité pré-réflechie." [Thought, or reflection, is nonetheless always a reflection of a pre-reflective, or pre-analytic, reality.][92] Though at this point in the book Long is using these ideas as starting points for discussing a pre-reflexive time in human history as the primordial source of religious expressions of the sacred – a task which does not particularly interest me, and on which front phenomenology is often criticized – he later segues into the notion of human orientation within

[91] Long, Charles H. Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986. p 44

[92] Long, 49; quote from Gusdorf, G. Traité de metaphysique, Paris: A. Colin, 1956. p 62. Translation mine.

the physical world as a primary religious experience, past and present. Human orientation is "the meaning that human communities give to the particular stances they have assumed in their several worlds [e.g., slaves in America and their stances among themselves, among whites, and with regard to Africa, remembered and imagined]. Orientation refers to the actual situation of the particular stance and the reflections and imaginations attendant to it."[93] He continues,

> The erect stance characteristic of human equilibrium must be seen against the background of the ever-present spaces of the earth, sky, topographies, and flora and fauna over which the human passes. But this externality is simultaneously an internality. Human consciousness emerges as the right configurations and approximations of the actual and potential meaning of this stance. The world as a cosmos, a home, and receptacle for the human mode of being, is based upon this perception of space and the human transversal through it. The sacred as orientation and as those forms perceived from this orientation is defined in this movement.[94]

In other words, human thought, consciousness, paradigms and religiosity – including moral ideas, and ideas of self and other, ethics – form in dialectic with embodied experiences in and traversals of the physical environment. Meaning is constructed out of this interaction, and it is also a process of making the physical world meaningful; a physical world that includes relationships between embodied, physical beings.

This supports the idea that histories of both physical and ideological experiences (which are often entwined) will strengthen an ethnography. And Long also goes on to give an ethical rationale for doing so, in terms of what he calls "opacity," which might also be termed "realness" as in "objective structural reality":

> When opacity (the specific meaning and value of another culture and/or language) is denied, the meaning of that culture as a human value is denied. By not dealing with this opacity, one is able to divorce oneself from the messy, confusing welter of detail that characterizes a particular society at a particular time and to move to the cool realm of abstract principles symbolized by the metaphorical transparency of knowledge.[95]

This "metaphorical transparency of knowledge" refers to the purportedly unbiased, scientistic approach to cultures, adopted in the Victorian and Enlightenment periods, which helped to reduce Europe's "others" to curiosities and objects, fit to be caged, categorized, manipulated and exploited, figuratively and literally – an approach that parallels the

[93] Long, 97
[94] Long, 97-98
[95] Long, 107

depoliticization of development contexts within development discourse (see literature review). I attempt, in this ethnography to deal as much as I am here able with "the messy, confusing welter of detail" that characterizes my research groups. While it is certain that there is much relevant detail omitted, it has been my intent to include as much as possible, in order not to simplify that which is not simple and ought not to be presented as such. Perhaps in future work I will have the opportunity to mess this project up further.

A somewhat more recent theorist and practitioner of phenomenology is Michael Jackson, whose writing straddles poetry, philosophy, and ethnography in what he calls, "existential anthropology." Jackson's phenomenology is analogous to Long's "orientation," but still separate. Rather than analyzing the impact of cultural and physical situatedness *per se*, Jackson's focus is on the indeterminacy of human existence, the "indeterminate relationship" between "naïve or natural attitudes" and theorized worldviews.[96]

Jackson is well-known for his development of the term "lifeworld," which I use in this dissertation in Jackson's sense of the term, though he adopts it from its originator, Husserl. Of a list of themes in existential anthropology that he outlines,[97] Jackson's fifth and concluding theme summarizes the notion of "lifeworld" as the understanding that "human existence involves a dynamic relationship between how we are constituted and how we constitute ourselves, between what is already *there* in the world into which we are born and what emerges in the course of our lives within that world."[98] This statement parallels significantly Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" as that space, or field, within which and in dialectical relationship with which human beings exist. *Habitus* describes the simultaneous existence of and dynamic relationship between objective structures and subjective existence, and the mutual creation that happens between them. Internalized and subconscious, *habitus* constitutes what is experienced as "given," "natural," or "taken for granted," in and of the world.[99]

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[96] Jackson, Michael. Lifeworlds: Essays in Existential Anthropology. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2013. xii

[97] Numbers one through four, respectively: the relational character of human existence; a view of the various senses of "subjectivity" as co-dependently arising; one's humanity as at once shared, or plural, and singular; the irreducibility of human life and meaning to conceptual language. Ibid., 5-8

[98] Jackson, 2013. 8

[99] Bourdieu, Pierre. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." American Sociological Association. *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring), 1989, 14-25. p.18-19
See also, Siisiäinen, Martti. "Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam." Paper presented at ISTR Fourth International Conference: "The Third Sector: For What and for Whom?" Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. July 5-8, 2000.

Recognizing the more intensive philosophical focus on relationality in Jackson's work on "lifeworlds," and the fact that Bourdieu's work is usually taken as representative of sociological structuralism (a take I do not see as imperative to reading Bourdieu), I nonetheless use the terms "lifeworld" and "habitus" interchangeably. By this choice I mean to assert that I read Bourdieu's notion as having space to accommodate Jackson's articulations of lifeworld; similarly, Jackson's framework can be read as inclusive of Bourdieu's conception of habitus.

Regarding aspersions cast on phenomenology as a too-subjective, "intuitive, solipsistic, or introspective philosophy that repudiates science,"[100] that is, conceptual models and systematic explanation, criticism coming especially from within the Western tradition, Michael Jackson writes that "what phenomenology stands against is the fetishization of the products of intellectual reflection," and that "what is at issue here is the intellectualist fallacy of speaking as if life were at the service of ideas. By 'intellectualism' we do not intend to disparage intelligence and reason. Rather, we intend an indictment of the view that all experience is reducible to knowledge, and may be metamorphosed until it comes to resemble the objects of science."[101] As "the scientific study of experience,"[102] what Jackson elsewhere calls a "radical empiricism,"[103] phenomenology leaves room for the reality of paradoxes, ironies, radical freedoms, and indeterminacies of human life – thought, emotions, and relationships.

Again, this is a method that prioritizes the types of concerns raised by Scott, Ferguson and Nussbaum, in their various considerations of development. It also underlies other approaches to development that I favor, such as asset identification, the analysis and approach of Banerjee and Duflo (see lit review), and Amartya Sen's take on the capabilities approach as encapsulated in his summary of capabilities as the freedom of a person to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value. The critique of prioritized ideals is the general philosophical basis of critiques of top-down approaches to community development and development aid.

In sum, my understanding is that the above readings of phenomenology are facets of a perspective that seeks to understand, interpret, explain, and describe human life as it is lived, that is, in its character as mysterious, ungraspable, and inexplicable. The dual appeal of

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[100] Jackson, Michael. Things As They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996. p.1

[101] Jackson 1996, 2-3

[102] Jackson 1996, 2

[103] Jackson, Michael. Paths Toward A Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.

phenomenology for me is, first, its recognition of the significance of the physical, material world in which people are embedded: bodies, land, buildings, borders, food, climate, mobility, other humans, etc.; and second, the space it leaves for contingency and happenstance as significant aspects of history.

Echoing Long's "messy welter," Jackson writes,

> a strictly sociological perspective [has] to be complemented with an existential perspective that encompass[es] the role of contingency, playfulness, unpredictability, mystery, and emotion in human life as well as acknowledging that human beings are motivated not only by a desire to construct social worlds in which they can find a sense of security, solidarity, belonging, recognition, and love but by a desire to possess a sense of themselves as actors and initiators.[104]

Though my dissertation is perhaps only recognizably phenomenological insofar as I employ terms associated with that perspective, it is the phenomenological view of history and of the organizations and communities with which I engage that I want to convey, rather than a tidy, systematic unit presentable for closure through conclusive theorizing. I want it to be clear that I understand that the "mess" is socio-historical and material, and also existential.

Though phenomenology has experienced disfavor from within social scientific disciplines that question its rigor, in recent years work has been done toward reclaiming phenomenology as a viable lens for religious studies. Jason N. Blum and Kristy Nabhan-Warren provide two examples of this. Against understandings of phenomenology as necessarily arguing for the actual, ontological reality of "the sacred" itself, or for an irreducible "otherness" that makes the sacred impervious to positivist or historical-theoretical approaches, Blum argues that "the phenomenologist attempts to understand or imagine the world from the perspective of religious consciousness,"[105] that is, with a view of religious insider horizons.

Nabhan-Warren argues for an emphasis on the researcher's own embodied experiences while doing fieldwork on religion, as a site of encountering and understanding religious practice pre-theoretically. She writes that phenomenology is a descriptive rather than prescriptive approach, which looks at "how life is lived, rather than what it *should be* as defined by our prior intellectual, theoretical lenses."[106] This latter phenomenological aim, which is also Jackson's,

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[104] Jackson 2013, 14

[105] Blum, Jason N. "Retrieving Phenomenology of Religion as a Method for Religious Studies." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, December 2012, Vol.80, No.4, 1025-1048. pp.1029, 1031, 1041

[106] Nabhan-Warren, Kristy. "Embodied research and Writing: A Case for Phenomenologically Oriented Religious

seems to me a fundamental aspect of ethnography and anthropology, almost synonymous with them. Nabhan-Warren employs the concept of "lifeworld," and her overall position coheres strongly with the notion of "horizons" as a basis for understanding cross-cultural relations.

Also with regard to religious studies, to turn back to him for a moment, Michael Jackson's focus on the indeterminate in-between leads to a conception of religion as an ongoing meaning-making praxis, undertaken in the dynamic between objectivity and subjectivity:

> Rather than a logocentric hermeneutics that emphasized the human quest for a coherent worldview, or an intellectualist focus on the rationality and credibility of belief, I sought a more pragmatic understanding of how people act, alone and in concert, to make their lives more existentially viable through techniques that enable them to grasp that which has eluded their grasp, and counteract the forces acting upon them.[107]

The religion-based actions, organizations, and perceptions that I describe in this dissertation – the impulse and search to contribute to the well-being of distant others; the leveraging of Christianity to bypass norms and construct new social groups; mediation, transformation, and interpretation between and from within circumstances in common and uncommon – can, like many practices, whether or not based in religion, be read as efforts at ordering the world. This interpretation of religion as technique is found in the Durkheimian sociological tradition, but I try as well in this work to demonstrate or at least point toward the contingent, circumstantial, happenstantial nature of such technique, in the sense that in its specificity it is an outcome of objective and subjective relations and constitutives, which can be traced, but not predicted. This point of view is more Weber's than Durkheim's (and the Weberian concept of elective affinity can as well be seen in parts of my concluding discussion).

Philosopher Charles Taylor helps one to see this dynamic from yet another position, in his 500-plus page treatise, *Sources of the Self*. His goal with the book is to convince the reader of how, despite Western idealized conceptions of the person as a self-made, self-contained individual,

> all-pervasive [the modern identity] is, how much it envelops us, and how deeply we are implicated in it: in a sense of self defined by the powers of disengaged reason as well as of the creative imagination, in the characteristically modern understanding of freedom and dignity and rights, in the ideals of self-fulfillment

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Studies Ethnographies." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, June 2011, Vol.79, No.2, 378-407. p.382

[107] Jackson 2013, 29. One may notice here how this echoes both Bornstein's and Smith's analyses of the functioning of witchcraft and Christianity in contexts of development-originating socio-economic shifts.

and expression, and in the demands of universal benevolence and justice.[108]

This broad set of standards arose, he argues, over the course of Western European history from the Victorian and Enlightenment periods. This corresponds roughly with the rise in popularity of Abraham Kuyper and his predecessors in the CRC in Holland, whose ideas have been very influential in the church, and which I discuss at length in chapter three. Taylor reminds us that the rise of political-theological figures like Kuyper, and the enduring value of his ideas to certain communities, is reflective of a particular, historical-cultural animus, both widespread and local, rather than creative of it. Kuyper's ideas were and are not revolutionary ideals introduced to the Dutch/Dutch-Canadian CRC community, rather they have succeeded because they appeal to characteristics already present. "Doctrines," writes Taylor, "which are supposedly derived from the sober examination of some domain into which the self doesn't and shouldn't obtrude actually reflect much more than we realize the ideals that have helped constitute this identity of ours."[109]

Taylor identifies two especially prominent Western moral standards, which one can see in the CRCNA's global concerns and the ways that constituents of the CRC see themselves as able and obligated to address these concerns. He writes, "one thing the Enlightenment has bequeathed to us is a moral imperative to reduce suffering." This imperative reflects "the joint force of two moral ideas…: the significance of ordinary life and the ideal of universal benevolence. The first has made the issues of life itself and the avoidance of suffering of supreme importance; the second imposes the obligation to secure them universally."[110]

Approaching the role of Christianity in development work in rural Kenya today, as with approaching the influence of Christianity on contemporary Western morals, requires a long view of its complex history in that country: how it has interwoven with colonial politics and local practices, and with economies of trade and tribe, and an idea of the ongoing ambiguity of the church (or, rather, churches) in Kenyan society. Like Kuyperianism or any doctrine, the staying power of Christianity(/-ies) among various people over time rests on pre-existing traits and

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[108] Taylor, Charles. Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989. p.503

[109] Taylor, ix

[110] Taylor, 394-5. Other moral ideas he observes as developing in the modern period are "that of the free, self-determining subject," and "the centrality of freedom as a good" which come together with the idea of universal benevolence to generate the imperatives of universal justice, rights, and dignity, and, correlatedly, "the steady rise in democracy as a legitimate form of political rule, to the point where it has become in the late twentieth century the inescapable source of legitimacy." (395) These are visible in Western ideas of appropriate trajectories of political-economic development. Martha Nussbaum and Michael Walzer (*Thick and Thin*; see fn 112) argue for a universalist-particularist / minimalist-maximalist understanding of such ideas.

desires among these people and therefore is reflective, rather than creative, of their preferences (although the mechanics of lifeworld/habitus mean that Christianity also becomes part of these reflected characteristics). As will be shown, reflected traits and preferences expressed via religion emerge from social, economic, political, and traditional histories and desires, which manifest in a variety of avenues of choice and practice.

Finally, part of the impetus for the phenomenological approach also comes from the diversely valuable use of "thick" description, an idea that anthropologist Clifford Geertz borrowed from philosopher Gilbert Ryle toward Geertz's project of moving from explanation to interpretation, or from causes to meanings, in the anthropology of religion.[111] The metaphor is also used effectively by Michael Walzer to talk about moral maximalism and minimalism, or, "thick" and "thin" morality. Both the phenomenological/anthropological and the moral-philosophical uses of this metaphor are at work in this dissertation.

Walzer states that "moral terms have minimal and maximal meanings; we can standardly give thin and thick accounts of them, and the two accounts are appropriate to different contexts, serve different purposes."[112] He continues, "morality is thick from the beginning, culturally integrated, fully resonant, and it reveals itself thinly only on special occasions, when moral language is turned to specific purposes."[113] That is, both thick and thin moral discourse and language, are rooted in "thick" culture, i.e. lifeworlds; however, moral minimalism, or "thin" morality, is what permits people of different backgrounds, beliefs, politics, or social priorities, to band together in moments of crisis behind a common cause or principle, like "truth," "freedom," or "peace." "In moral discourse," explains Walzer, "thinness and intensity go together, whereas with thickness comes qualification, compromise, complexity, and disagreement."[114] He compares the maximal version to a detailed statue carved of stone, and the minimal version to a stick figure representation of the statue, which emphasizes certain features of importance to the illustrator and her interlocutors at a particular moment in time.[115]

In this ethnography a number of "thin" cross-culturally shared interests and motivations

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[111] Segal, Robert A. "Clifford Geertz's Interpretive Approach to Religion." In Glazier, Stephen D. and Charles A. Flowerday (eds). Selected Readings in the Anthropology of Religion: Theoretical and Methodological Essays. London, UK: Praeger, 2003, 17-34. p.26

[112] Walzer, Michael. Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994. p.2

[113] Walzer, 4

[114] Walzer, 6

[115] Walzer, 18

are at play, such as Christianity, development, the desire to participate in development projects, and the positive valuation of these things. "Relationship," "helping," and "accountability," as well, are thin ethical terms shared between groups described here. When examined at their "thick," or "maximalist" sources, however, these concepts are shown to be "idiomatic in language, particularist in cultural reference, and circumstantial in the two senses of that word: historically dependent and factually detailed."[116]

In effect, the phenomenological examination of thin moral ideas at their thick, contextual provenances is a comparative ethical practice and framework. This comparison overlaps with what I have mentioned as among the motivating concerns for producing a dissertation of particularities: the need for careful, microethical analyses in contexts most typically in receipt of various forms of aid, and which are typically the subjects of global governance declarations and strategies. By microethics I mean Walzer's maximalism, that is, a phenomenological, lifeworld-oriented approach to understanding the ethics of, for example, an Anglican development agency's behaviors within the rural Kenyan communities it serves. Politically, socially, economically, historically, and religiously sensitive microethical analysis is a valuable countermeasure to ongoing generalist and top-down approaches.

As a brief aside, such close analysis also counters and critiques the current trend in studies of Religion and Development, religion in Africa, and African Christianity to focus on Pentecostalism, especially that which promotes Prosperity Gospel, aka "Faith Gospel." Though certainly Pentecostalism and its economic claims are an important aspect of religion in many communities around the world, I am concerned that its sensationalist appeal overshadows other more established and also widespread types of Christianity in Africa, which have long been Africanized, and which are in many cases a long term, stabilizing community presence. The focus on Pentecostalism, especially when it is portrayed as a mass exploitatative incursion of the Western consumerist impulse, runs the risk of reifying the stereotypical portrait of Africans as hapless victims and patsies, desperate to shed their own situatedness for a chance at Westernization, here offered by what seems to be a glaring example of neo-colonial Christianity. Without denying the exploitative nature of most versions of Prosperity Gospel, I think it is the responsibility of anyone studying any aspect of Africa – especially scholars originating from outside the continent – to work *against* these and any other areas of stereotypification. Instead,

[116] Walzer, 21

we should focus on highlighting diversity, specificity, and (em)power(ment), a practice that can contribute to the African-led project of "Africa" as a unification, rather than the Western-led work of "Africa" as a reduction.

Finally, I will note that my approach to this topic of cross-cultural and comparative religious ethics in the context of development aid is additionally informed by an approach known as "appreciative inquiry" or "asset identification." Appreciative inquiry / asset identification – AI – were popularized, respectively, by David Cooperrider and by John Kretzmann and John McKnight.[117] AI essentially describes approaches to organizational, institutional, or community development and, in my case, research design and strategy, that emphasize what *is* – positive, existent qualities, assets, good practices, habits, etc. – against and prior to examination of what is lacking. By coincidence, AI (both of them) also turned out to be a primary rubric for the development strategy of World Renew and ADS, and so I describe it and its uses for development at some length in chapters six and eight.

In terms of my research, AI is an orientation that I decided to conscientiously maintain. Rather than look for flaws and weaknesses I decided to focus first on what does seem to work in this complex set of relationships; what are the goals and how (or whether) these are met. This (temporary) softening of the gaze permitted me to work toward insights into the insider vision of and for World Renew and its relations to Alberta Christian Reformed and Kenyan rural communities. In this way, AI also overlaps with the phenomenological perspective that seeks an understanding of what practices and beliefs mean to the people who practice and believe them; how they function as motivational and moral frameworks for everyday life.

AI permitted me to think about how World Renew links to the CRC understanding of self and other, and how this everyday understanding manifests in the CRC's institutional and congregational relations with World Renew. It let me produce an empathetic analysis, which at the same time permits a number of points of critique. The empathetic analysis, however, is far more informative than a purely critical exercise would have been. Similarly, relaxing my (extant) reservations about the aid industry as a whole, I was able to see how World Renew functions in this context, in the particular circumstances of Kenya, and with relation to the various obstacles

[117] Cooperrider, David L. and Suresh Srivastva. Appreciative Management and Leadership: The Power of Positive Thought and Action in Organizations. San Francisco : Jossey-Bass, 1990.
Kretzmann, John P. and John L. McKnight. Building Communities From the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets. Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Neighborhood Innovations Network, Northwestern University, 1993.

to and supports for this work.

IV. Description of Research Participants

The relationship under discussion consists of two heterogeneous groups of people. A third "person" is present as World Renew, the Christian Reformed Church-based international aid organization that connects these two groups. One of the groups is comprised of constituents of the Christian Reformed Church of North America, chosen from within three regions of Alberta, Canada. The other group consists of participants in rural development projects in three regions of Kenya. This participant category contains both community members and the staff of Anglican Development Services, the Kenyan NGO with whom World Renew partners in these areas (a category choice that will be explained shortly).

In Canada, as in Kenya, societies and identities may be religious, tribal, class, gender, or income based; social affiliations may be professional, political, proximal, or any of many other possibilities. These social and identity markers and bases are non-discrete, and are all affected by broadly universal phenomenological influences: ecology and climate, physical, local and global embodiedness, and national, provincial, and local governance and infrastructure. The following are brief summary descriptions of the parties researched in this ethnography. Fuller descriptions of political economies, ideologies, histories, and physical context are provided in later chapters.

i. Alberta

For the Alberta component of my fieldwork, June-August 2013, I conducted three sets of interviews in three regions of the province: Northern, Central, and South, for a total of fifty-seven. My Alberta sample includes a variety of ages, genders, socio-economic status and background, professions, and family types, as well as various levels and types of experience with World Renew. This is intended to open up a picture of the heterogeneity of perspective in what is sometimes viewed as a closed ethno-religious enclave,[118] and so present a more accurate picture of the group. For similar reasons, I introduced a fairly wide (within the limits of Alberta) geographical range of interviewee locations, a range which is increased when one considers the history of residence and movement of a good portion of the respondents.

In the relationship under discussion, the position of the Albertan interviewees is broadly described as "supporter." Though "donor" is also often an appropriate term, "supporter" is more

[118] Schryer, Frans J. The Netherlandic Presence in Ontario: Pillars, Class and Dutch Ethnicity. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1998.

inclusive. It has room for those who contribute not only (or not even) financially but through other means such as time, prayer, fund-raising, or awareness campaigning.

The people I spoke with, while of the same denomination and of largely homogeneous Dutch ethnic background, come to the support of World Renew from a wide variety of concerns and circumstances. These tend to be some combination of personal experience, Christian beliefs, political views, and fiscal practices and priorities, none of which can be easily or accurately separated out from the others. In light of this complexity, one can see that what appears to be a cohesive body of support for World Renew in terms of aggregate contributions (financial and otherwise) manifests out of heterogenous motivations. These motivations stem from a wide spectrum of economic and social classes, political leanings, and comprehensions and visions of what the CRC represents in society, among other differences.

In general, these are people who view their position in the world and in this relationship as privileged and who would describe their lives as "blessed." Most have lived the majority of their lives in Canada (many immigrated from Holland as children), benefitting from Canadian public services, as well as the prosperous Albertan economy and opportunities therein. They describe this position in simultaneous terms of luck, happenstance, grace, and a historical God. They may also describe personal relationships or encounters they have had with less advantaged persons in various parts of the world as privileges, and as blessings to themselves.

The Dutch community of Alberta also inhabits a fiscal economy characterized by tensions between frugality and prosperity, wealth and (fear of) want. These tensions are particular to the Dutch CRC, though they are also part of Alberta's economic culture as a whole, as will be explained in the chapter on Alberta's political economy. Stemming from the current and past political economy of Alberta, as well as Dutch immigrant experiences, one can say that this tension is characteristic of this community's “lifeworld.”

The Christian Reformed worldview is also a very important part of this lifeworld. For example, the multiple doctrinal and social histories combined in today’s CRC create certain tensions and paradoxes of credence about which most CRC members have achieved a level of intellectualization and acceptance. Understanding the history and practice of ongoing unresolved theological disputes within a religious community that, especially in Canada, considers itself well-established and cohesive, provides significant insight into Christian Reformed discourse on aid.

ii. Kenya

"Participants" in Kenya, that is, interviewees associated with ADS development projects, also come from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. They are involved with development projects to greater and lesser degrees of intensity, related to, for example, professionalism and dedication of time, as well as differing levels of reliance on these projects for support.

The Kenyan interviewees can be divided into two rough groups, both of which benefit from and participate in World Renew-sponsored projects. First are community members: residents of the communities where projects are located, comprising self-help groups (SHGs) and community-based organizations (CBOs). Age, profession, and socio-economic factors vary greatly among participant community members.

Second are the professional participants: field officers, area program officers, and other staff of ADS. In charge of program deployment and obtaining funding for their work, as well as mediating between community members and donors, including World Renew, this group straddles the divide between institution and community, being in certain senses both. The staff are professionals and as such, though they do not work for World Renew, they are one of the central means by which World Renew gets its resources to the ground in an efficient manner. In this sense ADS staff are an institution – resources and authorities in themselves – as well as channeling institutional goods from elsewhere. Their institutional authority for the communities where they work is reinforced by their designation as the development arm of the Anglican Church of Kenya. At the same time, staff are part of communities, as Kenyans, tribe members, family members, church members, and friends, and also as people who benefit from the presence and funding of NGOs and donors in their area. As simultaneous experts and participants, these staff – their perceptions of World Renew and what it wants (or wants to hear), as well as their insights into life and development in these regions – are crucial to the shapes of World Renew-supported projects. Their roles in the establishment and outcomes of these projects are crucial, and so the attitudes, perspectives, and ideas they bring to the field matter.

The ADS programs and locations with which I was connected were all rural and village-based. Accordingly, the non-professional participants with whom I conversed and whose projects or work I observed were almost all farmers. Of these, the majority were women. There were also a number of teachers (women and men), as well as various community leaders (also mixed gender). The ages of participants ranged from eighteen years to people in their seventies and

eighties. Many of these latter continue to farm at a reduced intensity, but are dependent on others to maintain this livelihood. On average women constituted about seventy-five percent or higher of participants in attendance at the meetings and trainings that I observed.

In terms of religion, Kenyan participants largely identify as Christian, but not unanimously, and not within the same denomination. Most of the participants, even if aware that the projects were associated with the Anglican Church, were themselves not Anglican, and within this I observed no other majority denominational affiliation. If a person was not Christian, then they were usually Muslim. I encountered no one who told me that they followed either no religion, or traditional religion.[119]

Participant demographics shift somewhat among the three regions, in large part because each regional context has its own set of development needs, and so programs differ in response. Different programs and methods, too, attract participants of differing demographics. What rural participants of the three regions tend to have in common has much to do with being subject to national political shifts and processes over the years.

This means, for example, that roads, schools, electricity, and other general infrastructure in rural areas is, on average, less available and less maintained than in more urban areas of Kenya (not that these are models of infrastructural care), meaning that there is little reliable structural support for economic well-being. Resultant increased socio-economic insecurity in both urban and rural Kenya is statistically correlated with increased alcohol abuse,[120] which in turn correlates with gender-based and domestic violence,[121] and increased risk of STIs including HIV/AIDS.[122]

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[119] Though at the time I am not sure I was capable of asking the correct questions to find this out, because I don't believe that I knew what traditional religion is and so I was unable to formulate questions that would have brought it into the discussion.

Relatedly, I have not yet encountered an anthropological work that does an appropriate job of explaining what traditional religion is in Kenya/Africa. I have found that it is usually lumped into one mass, under ATR (African Traditional Religion) which includes witchcraft and sorcery, along with healing, venerating ancestors, and honoring sacred sites that are found in nature. It is unsurprising that no one would have mentioned this to me, because it is misunderstood by Westerners, assumed to be (backward and) a primitive remnant, to the extent that we don't even have the vocabulary to be able to speak about it in such a way that what we are talking about would be recognized by people as a thing that they do.

[120] Birech, Jennifer, Joseph Kabiru, Josephine Misaro, and David K. Kariuki. "Alcohol Abuse and the Family: A Case Study of the Nandi Community of Kenya." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol.3, No.15, August 2013, 137-144.

Lo, T. Q., J. E. Oeltmann, F. O. Odhiambo, C. Beynon, E. Pevzner, K. P. Cain, K. F. Laserson and P. A. Phillips-Howard. "Alcohol Use, Drunkenness and Tobacco Smoking in Rural Western Kenya." *Tropical Medicine and International Health*, Vol.18, No.4, April 2013, 506-515.

[121] World Health Organization. Global Status Report on Alcohol 2004; Kenya. <http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/en/kenya.pdf> [Accessed 25 November 2015]
See also Birech et al., above.

Reduction of these rates is among the development goals pursued by ADS in these areas.

The participation of Kenyans in the project at hand can be linked with such phenomenological and physiological factors as proximity (to projects, churches, neighbours, water), infrastructure, norms, tradition, and perceived opportunity and availability of personal and political power, as well as sources of hope, inspiration, and moral support.

In category, these factors are not different from those propelling Albertan CRC members in their choices regarding support of World Renew (though they diverge in detail). Proximity and opportunity (or "happenstance"), as well as custom, habit, and tradition,[123] are major influences on decisions that people make regarding giving and volunteering. Perceived power, and the availability of resources that inspire, motivate, and encourage are, likewise, spiritual and psychological assets that are connected to material realities, and that affect choices and behavior, cross-culturally.

iii. World Renew

World Renew practices relief and development aid in a total of thirty five countries. In Kenya, World Renew has both a disaster relief and a development branch. The relief department works in the most arid and insecure parts of the country, providing food and water to isolated and impoverished communities, as well as to people displaced by internal conflict over land and other scarce resources. The development branch works in various parts of the country, overlapping in some parts with relief. It supports local development NGOs directly, through seminars, technical advice, and subsidization of supplies, and indirectly, through funding. Monitoring and evaluation is also part of World Renew's work as a funding resource for local[124] development organizations. As a development NGO, World Renew's main task is, arguably, to obtain and direct funding on behalf of local organizations. This means that World Renew can only partner with local NGOs whose goals and strategies match those asserted by World Renew as a global organization, and those which donors to World Renew support. In Kenya, World Renew's biggest partner is Anglican Development Services, the development arm of the Anglican Church of Kenya.

In line with World Renew's priorities and philosophy, ADS's foci are food security and

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[122] Kalichman, Seth C., Leickness C. Simbayi, Michelle Kaufman, Demetria Cain, and Sean Jooste. “Alcohol Use and Sexual Risks for HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: Systematic Review of Empirical Findings.” *Prevention Science*, Vol.8, 2007, 141-151.

[123] As in, that which is done because it has "always" been done, or is perceived as having always been done. It may or may not bear value that imbues it the gravity of a moral "ought." The idea of tradition as I use it here is discussed further in chapter six.

[124] Kenyan.

community empowerment, as a broad net with which to approach intertwined issues of gender-based violence (GBV), HIV/AIDS and OVC (orphans and vulnerable children), primary education, health and nutrition, civic education, and a general movement toward security, economic self-sufficiency, and empowerment. Projects on which World Renew partners with ADS center largely on subsistence agriculture, as the hub of an array of inter-related programs.

World Renew also has a role within the CRC, and this role is bi-fold: on one hand World Renew contributes to the growth and reputation of the CRC as an institution and Christian denomination, and on the other hand to the CRC's edification as a community of faith. These two aspects of the CRC are of course not mutually exclusive, however World Renew's tasks in response to each are quite distinguishable.

Institutionally and denominationally, World Renew represents the church globally as its diaconal arm providing aid to the needy. This demonstrates the church's relevance in the world, and presents Christianity as a force for positive change, growth, and action. World Renew's second role in the CRC is to educate the church on issues of need, and to help constituents respond and thus grow in faith by providing opportunities and examples of the Christian Reformed response to poverty. In these ways World Renew helps to preserve the church as institution and as community.[125]

V. Chapter Summaries

This introductory chapter is followed by a brief chapter on the political economies of Kenya and Alberta which is intended to provide some general background information for the chapters to come. I look at the Albertan history of government, immigration, demographics, and economics, including sources of GDP, geographical heterogeneity, and some poverty issues. I also describe some of the larger cultural trends observable in that province. In Kenya, similarly, I look at the history of governance, colonial and post-independence, and the formation of today's demographics. I look at sources of GDP, issues of poverty, and some of the observed national-level cultural trends. For Kenya I also include some discussion of the role and character of corruption in its economy and politics, as well as the history of NGOs in that country and their political-economic and socio-cultural effects. In addition to background, chapter two is intended to set the stage for what follows, giving the reader an idea of the vastly different contexts from

[125] World Renew's preservationist role is attested to in interviews with CRC members, by consistent descriptions of senses of spiritual renewal and recognition of blessedness found through supporting the work of World Renew.

within which the agents under study emerge and with which they contend daily. These inform their views, expectations, and assumptions about their own situations, those of others, and about what is good and desired and how that can best be achieved – especially when it comes to the alleviation or elimination of poverty.

Chapter three narrows in to provide more detailed description of the immigration and religious-ideological history of the Christian Reformed community in Alberta as it stands today. Describing the nineteenth and twentieth century waves of Dutch immigration to North America, the chapter explains the economic, political, and religious dynamics in Holland that led to the presence of a large percentage of Reformed, working class families within those immigration waves. I discuss the influence of various theologians, especially Abraham Kuyper, whose thought continues to shape the outlook of the CRC and its members today. This chapter highlights the sources and development of a number of community traits and self-understandings that, in chapter four, seven, and eight, are proved strongly influential on the denomination's approach to development work and church involvement therein.

Chapter four is the first of three primary data-based chapters (the others are chapters six and seven). Using the interviews I conducted in Alberta, in conjunction with the secondary material of chapter three, I describe various motives and means for congregational support of World Renew, support that is doctrinal and personal and that takes a variety of forms, from irregular offerings to traveling far for a firsthand view of World Renew's projects. I begin by describing recent shifts in the CRCNA's self-understanding with regard to the meaning and scope of the Christian diaconal calling, and explain a number of key motivational and substantive terms and ideas within that calling. I focus on interpretations of stewardship and, relatedly, the idea of relationship in Christian life and duty as formulated within the CRC. This discussion reveals that World Renew's work of development is understood as a Kingdom practice, that is, it is soteriologically and eschatologically significant, representing the understanding of the Kingdom of God as immanent and imminent, always now and (yet) not yet. These doctrinal elements of World Renew's work and the church's claims on and understandings of it are discussed in conjunction with a number of types of action, tensions, and paradoxes that follow on these doctrinal convictions. Such actions and tensions reflect and stem from a Reformed worldview but also, importantly, an immigrant, Dutch, Canadian (and even Albertan) Reformed outlook. In this discussion the influence of *habitus* and of certain traditions that are part of *habitus* becomes

apparent. This influence is shown to have clear ramifications for World Renew, a conclusion that is amplified and drawn to a close in chapter eight.

As chapter three does for chapter four, the fifth chapter provides a close history and context for the primary data presented in chapter six. Chapter five looks at the history of Anglicanism in Kenya, from its pre-colonial arrival to its turnover to African clergy, and the ambiguity of the church as it has acted both in support and defiance of colonial and post-independence governments. The church has been involved in "community development" services, especially health and education, since its earliest days, and so the chapter looks at the history of the ACK as a *de facto* critic of Kenya's various governments and their lacunae, as well as how it developed over time to produce the well-placed and well-regarded ADS.

Chapter six is the second major fieldwork-based chapter, and it continues on a theme introduced in chapter five, which is that, as much as the church has placed demands on converts, followers, and communities, it has always first been subject to local appraisals and standards, upon which bases the power, desirability, and extent of association with the church were decided by the Kenyan communities among whom the church worked. This dynamic continues today, in the form of a set of contextually derived and particular behavioral standards to which Christians and Christian organizations are held, and to which ADS as a Christian organization must conform if it is to have any reputation and (thus) effectiveness in the communities. These standards, or codes – their origins, content, outcomes, and spheres – are the main focus of this chapter, as they are the source of demands that ADS makes on World Renew within the bounds of that partnership. The chapter also looks at how and why efforts to overcome obstructive local practices and replace them with new, constructive norms are helped by these same behavioral codes. I suggest that ADS's (and, by proxy, World Renew's) praxis can be understood as one of risk-mitigation, which empowers people to be able to afford the risks that are inherent in instigating change.

The third primary data chapter, chapter seven, is based on archives of CRCNA Annual Synod meetings and discussions of Synod regarding World Renew since its first incarnation as the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee in 1962, formed to manage the church's growing numbers of domestic and overseas humanitarian projects. The first half of the chapter describes the history of World Renew as a CRC response to various needs in the world, and how its mandate shifted and developed through this response. The second half describes the

emergence and development of World Renew as an answer to desires and needs of the church itself, since it was established to work in both "the world" and the church. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how Reformed demands and doctrine both compel and restrain World Renew and its goals of transformation at home and abroad.

The concluding chapter brings together the work presented in chapters three through seven in order to make a number of final observations regarding my central inquiry: how faith affects development praxis. I approach this by framing each of the points of interaction and influence in the relationship I examine – between World Renew and the CRCNA constituency and institution, between World Renew and its own self-understanding, and between World Renew and its overseas partners – as presenting sets of faith-based demands to which World Renew is variously responsible. Each of these sets of demands emerges out of unique historical-material circumstances, motivations, visions, and goals, of and for the self, others, and World Renew. This chapter raises the issue of funding, and how donors exact control over World Renew, which is sometimes used to extract behaviors that are not the most beneficial or efficient – an ironic outcome of demands and desires that are not always linked to strong understanding of World Renew's practice on the ground. I argue that World Renew, itself an agentic institution with its own self-understanding, vision, and sets of goals, while on one hand is and seeks to be a responsive and mediative body, also leverages and reorients the various and sometimes conflicting demands it receives in ways that are beneficial to its own goals. I describe some of World Renew's methods and programs, and how they reflect and respond to external demands, how they are part of World Renew's own organizational goals, and some surprising strategies and outcomes of these interrelations. The dissertation ends with a discussion of World Renew's use of "relationship as a strategy,"[126] and a brief afterword regarding some further avenues of insight and analysis suggested by this research.

[126] "Relationship as a strategy" is a way that World Renew has developed to meet the cultural, doctrinal, and institutional demands of the CRCNA and its constituents while also enabling it to achieve its own organizational goals and the obligations it has to partners and programs in the field. Leveraging these demands through carefully designed programming, World Renew deploys ideas and practices of "relationship" to cultivate empathy, empowerment, and solidarity.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL ECONOMIES OF ALBERTA AND KENYA, 2016

Introduction

This chapter provides broad contextual background to the more detailed historical and cultural studies I provide in chapters three and five, regarding the Christian Reformed Church community in Alberta, and Anglican Development Services, respectively. Both segments of this chapter address current economic and political states of affairs in each setting, covering issues central to and characteristic of each place and describing the position of each within the global economy over time. For Alberta the unique foci are the centrality of oil, conservative economic and political policies, and the history of First Nations in the province. In Kenya the special focus is on the role of multilateral lending organizations in its economy since independence, and on non-governmental organizations (NGOs): how they represent outside interests in the Kenyan economy, and how they function in and interweave with existent Kenyan political and economic structures and systems. These depictions are included to add depth and clarity to the cross-cultural dynamics I present in this dissertation as a whole.

I. A Brief Look at Alberta's Political Economy

Originally home to nine indigenous tribes[127] now referred to as Alberta's First Nations, the area today known as Alberta, Canada, was under exploration by the British Hudson's Bay Trading Company (HBC) from the early seventeenth century until the late nineteenth century. Together with neighbouring province, Saskatchewan, Alberta was called the Northwest Territory until 1905 when that territory was split by the Dominion of Canada into the two separate provinces. Bordered by British Columbia and the Rocky Mountains to the west, Saskatchewan to the east, the Yukon to the north, and the USA to the south, Alberta is Canada's second western-most province, covering a total of 661,848 square kilometres. Its population of 3,645,257 (83% urban[128]) is clustered mostly in the lower half of the province, the northern half comprised mainly

[127] Native-Languages.org. "Alberta Indian Tribes and Languages." Native Languages of the Americas, 1998-2015. <http://www.native-languages.org/alberta.htm> [Accessed 22 February 2016]

[128] Statistics Canada. "Population, urban and rural, by province and territory (Alberta)." Government of Canada, Feb 4, 2011. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62j-eng.htm> [Accessed 22 February 2016]

of forest and lakes, with an inhospitable climate and soils mostly unsuited to agriculture. Within the lower half, southern Alberta (i.e., south of Calgary) is a prairie region of grasslands ranging from relatively fertile plains to semi-desert areas, which rely on regional irrigation systems for large scale agriculture. Central Alberta, roughly the latitude from Calgary up to the capital city, Edmonton, is a parkland region with fertile black soils very favourable to agriculture; crops as well as grazing animals.[129]

i. Economy

Alberta's economy has consistently "followed a pattern of primary resource exploitation and dependence on external markets," beginning with the fur trade in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, then ranching and grain growing in the early 1900s, continuing in addition to oil and natural gas, mining, and manufacturing from the mid-twentieth century on.[130] While agriculture, dominated by cattle production, remains a significant commodity production sector in rural Alberta, it is increasingly belaboured. Meanwhile, Alberta's manufacturing sector has developed to a value of three times that of the province's agricultural output.[131] Alberta's good fortune in having discovered immense reserves of oil and gas before such reserves were discovered in Saskatchewan, as well as its initial lead in manufacturing have been "critical determinants in Alberta's [emergence] as the economic core of the Western Canadian region."[132] Alberta's large corporations are dominated by the oil and gas industry, with over half of them dedicated to energy, utilities, and oil field service.[133] 74.5 percent of Alberta's exports are natural resource-based commodities (the rest are manufactured goods), with 59.7 percent of its total exports crude petroleum oil.[134] In 2015 Alberta's seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was 4.6 percent (compared to a national average of 7.0 percent), but it is currently 7.4 percent (with a

[129] Stamp, Robert M. (Revisions by Diane Warnell). "Alberta" in The Canadian Encyclopedia. Toronto, ON: Historica Canada, 2013. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/alberta/> [Accessed 19 February 2016] (no pp)

[130] Ibid., no pp.

[131] Emery, J.C. Herbert and Ronald D. Kneebone. "Socialists, Populists, Resources, and the Divergent Development of Alberta and Saskatchewan." *Canadian Public Policy / Analyse de Politiques* Vol.34, No.4, December 2008, 419-440. p.434

[132] Ibid., 433-434

[133] Ibid., 434

[134] Tremblay, Pascal. "Canadian Trade and Investment Activity: Alberta's Merchandise Trade with the World." *Library of Parliament Research Publications* 10 July 2013. Parliament of Canada Trade and Investment Series 2012. <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/ResearchPublications/2013-32-e.htm> [Accessed 22 February 2016]

national average of 7.2 percent)[135] due to an ongoing downturn in global oil prices. Alberta is also currently taking new stock of the state of its oil industries, specifically the extraction of oil from bitumen, what is referred to as "tar sands" or "oil sands,"[136] a process that is expensive and complicated, as well as damaging to the natural environment.

Oil

Historians Francis and Palmer write that "the discovery of oil at Leduc, Alberta in 1947 is often seen symbolically as the beginning of the modern west" in Canada.[137] The province possesses Canada's "largest deposits of oil and natural gas, and expansion of the petroleum industry from 1947 to 1982 made it the fastest growing province in that period."[138] Though early geological surveys had indicated mass quantities of petroleum reserves in northern Alberta already in the late nineteenth century, it was not until the discovery of a large pool of oil near Leduc that the oil and gas industry in Alberta would gain traction in earnest. Oil sands extraction began much later. Though Canada initiated oil production in the tar sands already in the late 1960s, it was not until 2003 that major oil sands development became economically viable: "with oil prices heading toward $150 per barrel, the tar sands not only became viable but the basis for a sudden American reliance on North American petroleum as a source of fuel."[139]

Second in the world for proven oil reserves (after Saudi Arabia),[140] Canada is "one of the largest energy research and development funders in the world."[141] Alberta is "the ninth largest

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[135] AlbertaCanada.com. "Unemployment Rate." *Economic Dashboard* Government of Alberta, Feb 5, 2016. <http://economicdashboard.albertacanada.com/Unemployment> [Accessed 23 February 2016]

[136] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short explain, "'tar sands' is a colloquial term used to describe sands that are perhaps more accurately described as bituminous sands. They constitute a naturally occurring mixture of sand, clay, water, and bitumen – an exceptionally viscous and dense form of petroleum – which has, since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, been referred to as 'tar' due to its similar viscosity, odor and colour. However, naturally occurring bitumen is chemically more similar to asphalt than to tar, and the term oil sands is now more commonly used by industry and in the producing areas than tar sands since synthetic oil is what is manufactured from the bitumen." (Huseman, Jennifer and Damien Short. "'A Slow Industrial Genocide': Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.16, No.1, 2012, 216-237. p.220)

[137] Francis, R. Douglas and Howard Palmer (eds). The Prairie West: Historical Readings (2nd edition). The University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB: Pica Pica Press, 1992. p.681

[138] Stamp, no pp.

[139] Huseman and Short, 223

[140] Smith, Jordan Michael. "Northern Promises: Will Canada Make It as an Energy Superpower?" *World Affairs* July/August 2013, 72-79. p.73; cites reports of 178 billion barrels.
Szeman, Imre. "How to Know about Oil: Energy Epistemologies and Political Futures." *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol.47, No.3, Fall 2013, 145-168. p.156; cites reports of 180 billion barrels.

[141] Smith, 73. It supplies "nine percent of the United States' energy supplies, more than Venezuela and Saudi Arabia combined." (73) In 2013 oil and gas represented "40 percent of total Canadian exports – more than double what they were in 1995 (16.5%) – and according to Natural Resources Canada, in 2010 the energy sector accounted for

producer of oil in the world and the third largest natural gas producer, [producing] 55 percent of Canada's conventional crude oil, and all of Canada's oil sand production."[142] In northern Alberta one finds the largest tar sands in the world. Two-thirds of the world's bitumen is located in Alberta in underground oil sands covering over 141,000 square kilometres, in the Athabasca, Peace River, and Cold Lake regions.[143] Here, "Canada hosts the only major oil sands mining industry in the world,"[144] extraction of oil from which is "the biggest energy project in the world."[145] Almost half of Canada's oil production comes from this type of mining and extraction in these areas, production currently resulting in over two million barrels of oil per day and expected to increase to 3.8 million barrels per day (1.39 billion barrels per year) by 2022.[146]

Needless to say, the oil and gas, or "energy," sector has long been core to the Albertan economic identity and well-being, as well as its political and social character. Between 1962 and 2004, "Alberta's real GDP grew at an average of 5.4 percent per year,"[147] a growth rate which includes regular boom-bust cycles resulting from the province's reliance on export of primary commodities, especially oil. As Emery and Kneebone write, "characterised by high capital intensity, specialized technology, strong forward and backward linkages, and hence large inter-industry multiplier effects," energy industries "demand massive amounts of capital, a highly skilled workforce, and supply large revenues to government that in turn enables the provision of social infrastructure without a high tax burden."[148]

Today, "Alberta is criss-crossed with pipelines, and multiple pipelines already make their way across the border to the United States and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast." Recent endeavors "to expand this infrastructure… to accommodate new supply, [and] to allow Western Canada Select Crude to trade at a price closer to world prices than its current discount rate"[149] include the Keystone XL pipeline, planned to run from Alberta to American Gulf Coast refineries, and Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline. This latter "would take bitumen from the

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6.8 percent of Canada's total GDP." (Szeman, 156)

[142] Emery and Kneebone, 434

[143] Stamp, no pp.

[144] Parlee, Brenda L. "Avoiding the Resource Curse: Indigenous Communities and Canada's Oil Sands." *World Development*, Vol. 74, 2015, 425–436. p.425

[145] Smith, 74

[146] Parlee, 425-426. See also Smith's article, two years older than Parlee's, which cites 1.5 million barrels per day, expected to rise to 3.3 million per day by 2019. (p.74)

[147] Emery and Kneebone, 429

[148] Ibid., 433

[149] Szeman, 159

oil sands to [Canada's] west coast for transport to China… seen by the federal government [under Stephen Harper, until 2015] as an essential expansion of the market for Canadian oil."[150] Such proposals are highly contentious, and national and provincial debates over them reveal within the Canadian and Albertan political economic fabric strains and tensions that have deep historical roots.

Environmental issues associated with pipelines and with oil sands extraction processes are widely recognized. Oil pipelines leak and rupture – Enbridge's track record, for example, shows a number of serious and unaddressed leaks, ruptures, and spills over time – and major oil spills are reported in North America on a regular basis.[151] The so-called "externalities" of deriving oil from bitumen, in turn, require triple the water that is used for conventional oil extraction, use of which creates tailings "ponds" "into which over 480 million gallons of contaminated toxic waste water are dumped daily."[152] Already by 2012 tailings ponds covered more than fifty square kilometres (12,000 acres) of northern Alberta. Strip mining, too, is par for the course of accessing oil sands, and the energy required for extraction and refining produces "considerably higher levels of greenhouse gasses per barrel of final product than the production of conventional oil."[153] The projects also pollute nearby waterways through airborne pollutants, pipeline leaks above and below ground, and from tailings ponds leaks.[154]

The most outspoken opponents of oil sands production in its current form have been environmental and First Nations groups, who have "effectively drawn attention to the ecological

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[150] Ibid., 157

[151] Jen Preston describes "persistent reports of Enbridge pipeline leaks and to a damning US National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) report released in July 2012, which examined Enbridge's response to the Line 6B rupture on 25 July 2010 in Michigan. The NTSB found that Enbridge did not fix a defect in the pipeline that had been discovered five years prior to the leak, and that control-room staff responded poorly when the leak was detected. In fact, while millions of litres of oil began pouring into and around the Kalamazoo River in July 2010, Enbridge staff waited seventeen hours before responding. 'The Michigan spill affected more than 50 kilometres of waterways and wetlands, while about 320 people reported symptoms from crude oil exposure.'" She adds, "…Josh Wingrove of the Globe and Mail has reported that: 'Since 2011, there have been at least 10 oil spills, ranging from small to large, in Alberta. The biggest include one from a Plains Midstream pipe near Little Buffalo, where an estimated 4.5-million litres spilled in April, 2011, and another in December last year, near Judy Creek, Alta., where 1.9-million litres spilled from a Pengrowth Energy Corp. pipeline. There were two major spills in June, totaling as much as 700,000 litres.'" (Preston, Jen. "Neoliberal settler colonialism, Canada and the tar sands." Race & Class Vol.55, No.2, 2013, 42–59. p.46, and citing Wingrove, Josh. "Small oil leak discovered in Alberta." *The Globe and Mail*, Thursday, July 26, 2012. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/small-oil-leak-discovered-in-alberta/article4442357/> [Accessed 20 February 2016])

[152] Huseman and Short, 221

[153] Ibid., 221. If combustion of the product itself is included," continue observers, in total, "approach, bituminous sands extraction, upgrade, and use generates eight to 37 percent higher emissions than conventional oil." (221)

[154] Ibid., 224

trauma inflicted by the processes used in bitumen extraction."[155] Despite strong legal and scientific bases for opposing pipeline projects, however, such groups are among those with decreasing influence in a political culture and policy environment that has increasingly favoured the interests of business and industry to the exclusion of other concerns. Opposition to energy industries in Alberta has also arisen from some of the province's farming communities. Epp and Whitson report that, similarly to obstacles facing environmentalists and First Nations protesters, "the legal framework governing energy and the environment in Alberta has always meant that farmers have had a hard time 'proving' that health problems, whether human or animal, were attributable to the activities of the energy industry."[156]

Though much of the debate surrounding oil sands development in Alberta has centred on its ecological effects, "those less concerned with ecological impacts have argued that there are other benefits that more than offset these environmental disturbances and losses to the province's stores of natural capital."[157] As Parlee points out, though:

> The ability of decision-makers to determine what constitutes a significant benefit and/or cost… is complicated by the uncertainties surrounding the effects and the diverse perspectives and experiences of those affected. Benefits and costs also tend to accrue at different scales. While concerns are growing about the contributions of oil sands mining to the climate change problem, First Nations living downstream of oil sands mining arguably bear much of the environmental effects. Benefits (revenues) tend to be captured provincially and federally, [and] the trickle down of these benefits is perceived to be limited according to statistics on income distribution. Statistics Canada data show significant disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, particularly in the resource rich Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. There are also significant environmental and socio-cultural implications that fly under the radar of economic valuation.[158]

One further likely outcome of an economic focus on the oil sands is the continuation of the boom-bust cycle that is typical of resource and raw commodity-based economies[159] that depend on a strong export market demand and pricing for their high revenues, especially when, as for Alberta, low population density necessitates finding outside markets.[160]

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[155] Szeman, 156

[156] Epp, Roger and Dave Whitson. "Introduction: Writing Off Rural Communities?" in Roger Epp and Dave Whitson (eds.) Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press; Parkland Institute, 2001. xiii-xxxv. p.xxxi

[157] Parlee, 426

[158] Ibid., 427

[159] Besides oil, Alberta's major export commodities include agricultural products and other underground natural resources (coal, natural gas, etc.).

[160] Gibbins, Roger. "Political Discontent in the Prairie West: Patterns of Continuity and Change" in Francis, R.

Before the 1930s and the Great Depression, the province's labour and export market revolved primarily around agriculture and "the production of a single crop – wheat – dominated the grain economy."[161] During the Depression this narrow focus had catastrophic consequences for the prairie economy as a whole and so, afterward, Albertan economic planning focused on diversification from agriculture. The province invested strongly into oil following the 1947 discovery at Leduc. Despite diversification from agricultural commodities, though, Alberta remains dependent on raw resources as well as external markets. The first dramatic impact of this in terms of oil began in the early 1970s. OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries)-led increases in the price of oil sparked a decade of booming economic growth for Alberta. This period of enormous investment then "collapsed precipitously" [162] under the combined effects of the 1982 decline of natural resource markets recession and Pierre Elliot Trudeau's National Energy Program, introduced in 1980.[163] Peaking in 1981 at $44 per barrel, by 1983 the price of oil had decreased to $39 per barrel and fell to a low of $10 per barrel in 1986.[164] Recovering briefly from 1983 to 1985, "the economy again sagged as the world price for oil all but collapsed." Then, by the mid-1990s, Alberta's economy again stabilized and rose, in concert with world prices and demand for oil.[165]

Agriculture

As Alberta's energy sector grew, agricultural commodity production remained significant in Alberta's socio-political and economic landscape, a prominence of especial significance for a good segment of my Albertan interviewees and their communities. Alberta contains "an estimated 2.661 million hectares [26,610 square km] of land suitable for agriculture," production from which is of major economic importance for internal as well as external markets.[166] Lead cereal crops are wheat, canola, and barley, in addition to major operations for sugar beets, potatoes, and

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Douglas and Howard Palmer. The Prairie West: Historical Readings (2nd edition). The University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB: Pica Pica Press, 1992. 685-696. p.688

[161] Ibid., 688

[162] Emery and Kneebone, 689

[163] "The [NEP] included added incentives for energy conservation and energy conversion away from oil— policies that were far more applicable to Eastern Canada, including the extension of the natural gas pipeline system from the West to eastern areas like Quebec City and the Maritimes, with the additional transport charges being passed back to the Western producers. The federal government's share of energy income rose, while the provincial and industry share fell." (Smith, 75)

[164] Harder, Lois. State of Struggle: Feminism and Politics in Alberta. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2003. p.45

[165] Gibbins, 689. See also Emery and Kneebone, 429; Stamp, no pp.

[166] Stamp, no pp.

vegetables. Beef, dairy, poultry, hog, and sheep production and processing are also large industries classed under agriculture.[167]

Like oil, an industry reliant on external markets, Alberta agriculture is subject to the vagaries of global market realities, politics, and speculation, as well as to the fortunes of energy. For instance, the hog and beef cattle industries in 2007-2008 experienced heavy losses and numerous bankruptcies due to rapidly rising world grain prices (affected by weather as well as by oil prices).[168] Canada's entry into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), in 1994 and 1947 respectively (GATT re-ratified in 1994 with Canada's entrance into the World Trade Organization [WTO]), also linked the viability of small Canadian producers more directly to global market prices for primary commodities. Though such agreements may benefit Canadian markets on average, for many independent agricultural producers this type of highly competitive context and its ever-narrowing profit margins leave "few options beyond low-profit roles as suppliers of raw materials, or even contract workers" for food corporations.[169]

The increase of large-scale industrialized farming by and for food processing corporations has been a side effect of increased global competition among agribusiness in combination with higher costs of inputs and fuel. Beginning in the 1970s, farm production has fallen increasingly into fewer but larger hands. By 2001, twenty percent of farm operations in Alberta were responsible for eighty percent of production.[170] Within this context the majority of small operators cannot compete, and any wrench in the system, such as the mad cow disease crisis of 2003 and 2004, can throw farmers into bankruptcy.[171] Intensifying matters, shifting priorities for the use of provincial and federal oil revenues, until recently used to significantly prop up fluctuating farm incomes,[172] have resulted in a "radical curtailment" of income support programs designed "to make seasonal work in the resource industries a sustainable way of life" and to help

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[167] Ibid., no pp.
[168] Schmitz, Andrew. "Canadian Agricultural Programs and Policy in Transition." *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics* Vol.56, 2008, 371–391. p.380
[169] Epp and Whitson, xvi
[170] Ibid., xxxii
[171] Goddard, Ellen. "Factors Underlying the Evolution of Farm-related Cooperatives in Alberta." *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics* Vol.50, 2002, 473–495. p.476, 477.
Taras, David. "Alberta in 2004" in Catherine Anne Cavanaugh, Michael Paye, Donald Grant Wetherell (eds.) Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed (Vol.2). Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2006. 748-765. p.758
[172] Schmitz, 380

even out disparities in rural-urban standards of living, keeping farming communities alive and sustainable.[173]

Development disparities between cities and the countryside have been part of Alberta's socio-economic fabric since its inception.[174] As rural livelihoods struggle under global pressures, the urban-rural divide has become more stark in Alberta, as it was in the province's early days. Between 1951 and 2003 Alberta's population increased by three million people, almost all of which population growth occurred in urban centres.[175] By the mid-2000s a strong urban-rural economic divide had re-emerged, separating "burgeoning and prosperous cities from the poorer and increasingly depopulated rural areas."[176] "Clean, high-tech prosperity" is concentrated in not just Calgary and Edmonton, but also the province's smaller cities, "even as the farm crisis decimates" surrounding rural communities.[177]

Policy

In general, the particularly strong link of the Alberta government's policy priorities to the vicissitudes of outside markets has led to a consistent rejection of Crown or federal involvement in or ownership of provincial markets, and a concomitant preference for private investment and ownership. For this reason, Albertan governments "of all political stripes have resorted to some combination of the following to attract companies looking for low-cost production sites or raw materials: favourable tax regimes, long-term access to natural resources, cheap labour, and relaxed environmental standards."[178]

Also characteristic of Alberta's provincial economic policy have been low taxes combined with high government spending. Albertans pay among the lowest income taxes in Canada, and are the only Canadians without a provincial sales tax. Since the 1950s, royalties from petroleum

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[173] Epp and Whitson, xvii. See also Schmitz.

[174] Hall, David. "1904-1905: Alberta Proclaimed" in Catherine Anne Cavanaugh, Michael Payne, Donald Grant Wetherell (eds.) Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed (Vol.1). Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2006. 332-355. pp.336, 338

A concrete example of such disparity is found in time frames of access to electricity between urban and rural communities in Alberta, and between rural communities in Alberta compared to those of other provinces. By 1941 "only 5.4 percent of Alberta's farmers had electricity of any kind, including gasoline and wind-electric plants. Only… half of one percent had central station service." Meanwhile, one-third of farmers in BC and Ontario had electrical service by then, and the City of Calgary had been fully linked with hydro-electric power already since 1911. (Dolphin, Frank and John Dolphin. Country Power: The Electrical Revolution in Rural Alberta. Edmonton, AB: Plains Publishing, Inc., 1993. pp.8, 15)

[175] Emery and Kneebone, 434

[176] Taras, 758

[177] Epp and Whitson, xv. See also Taras, 758.

[178] Epp and Whitson, xviii. See also Emery and Kneebone, 423

production, rather than taxes, have been used to finance public spending. Though between 1976 and 1987 the government set aside percentages of energy royalties into the Alberta Heritage Fund, a savings and investment fund for oil revenue surpluses, during the recession of the 1980s investment income from the fund was used to supplement public spending. By 1986 deposits of royalty income into the fund had ceased altogether. The result has been a savings of less than ten percent of all natural resource revenues collected since 1970, in addition to a provincial culture of strong resistance to income tax increases and to sales tax – to taxation in general.[179] Alberta's anti-regulatory attitude is discussed further in the following section. The effects of Alberta's current oil prices-related recession are exacerbated by lack of savings with which to address some of its worst outcomes.

ii. Politics in Alberta

Since its early years, Alberta politics has been characterized by a particular philosophy of economic conservatism, of which anti-regulatory sentiment is typical. The shape of this conservatism within policy and leadership has been linked to the ultimate valuation of the individual's rights and freedoms to make the most of what he/she has, and to an understanding of government as responsible for maintaining an environment where that is most possible.

These values and principles have seen different interpretations over time. For instance, Peter Lougheed, Alberta's premier from 1971 to 1985, changed "Alberta's royalty structure so that Alberta could capture a greater share of resource rent [and] promoted public entrepreneurship in the oil and gas sector," putting the government more in "control of Alberta's resources so that resource royalties could finance his 'province building' agenda."[180] During the 1970s oil boom, Lougheed invested the provinces "unprecedented wealth" into "facilitating the continued expansion of the [energy] industry, …into infrastructure projects,… [and in] health and education."[181] He also established the Alberta Heritage Fund. When industry spokespersons criticized Lougheed's "activist" approach as overly regulatory and socialist, Lougheed replied, "We stand for free enterprise, not socialism. We stand for social reform and individual rights, not big government control."[182] Lougheed sought to safeguard these freedoms and rights using regulations that included but were not restricted to the oil industry.

[179] Emery and Kneebone, 427; Stamp, no pp.
[180] Emery and Kneebone, 426
[181] Harder, 154
[182] Quoted by Emery and Kneebone, 426

Employing similar rhetoric and espousing the same principles of free enterprise, social reform, and individual rights, Ralph Klein's premiership, from 1992 to 2006, was characterized by "limiting the size of government by privatizing as much as possible; creating a low tax and royalty regime to encourage investment; and off-loading costs [of social programs] to municipalities and to citizens through increased user fees."[183] Klein is renowned in Alberta for balancing the province's budget by, "consistent with his 'small government philosophy,'… cutting spending, not raising revenue."[184] Klein ordered cuts across the board, so that small and large ministries were all told to eliminate the same percentage of their budgets. This met with considerable resistance, as, for instance, cuts to health and education added up to billions of dollars and resulted in hospital closures, a halving of government-funded kindergarten classroom hours, and a seventeen percent cut to college and university funding, whereas ministries with much smaller initial budgets were less dramatically affected.[185]

The booming economy and budget cuts, however, brought surpluses which "allowed the Klein government to spend its way out of trouble," for example through assistance programs for farmers, and reduction of hospital wait times and seniors health premiums (that latter two of which were also created by Klein's policies).[186] Perhaps most significant was Klein's interpretation of the principles of individualism and free enterprise to embrace "privatization and deregulation, [adopt] the logic of an international market economy, and [redefine] citizens as 'customers'";[187] what Lois Harder describes as the transformation of provincial governance "so that market emulation became the singular focus of public policy."[188]

Despite the general popularity of Klein among Albertans, debate surrounding "the state of health care, the steady decline of rural Alberta, and what to do with massive budgetary surpluses" toward the end of Klein's leadership[189] reflects the heterogeneity of political and social views in Alberta. This runs counter to the province's usual characterisation as a monolith of conservatism in Canada, due to its nearly unbroken conservative voting record since the 1920s.[190]

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[183] Taras, 752-753
[184] Webster, Cheryl Marie and Anthony N. Doob. "Penal reform 'Canadian style': Fiscal responsibility and decarceration in Alberta, Canada." *Punishment & Society* Vol.16, No.1, 2014, 3–31. p.9
[185] Ibid., pp.10, 16.
[186] Taras, p.755; and p.754.
[187] Wiseman, Nelson. "Provincial Conservatism" in James Farney and David Rayside (eds.) Conservatism in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. 209-230. p.223
[188] Harder, 120
[189] Taras, 757
[190] Webster and Doob, 7-8. See also Stamp, no pp.

A 2008 survey by David Stewart and Anthony Sayers, however, adds nuance to this understanding of Alberta and Albertans. Stewart and Sayers find that Albertans in fact do not statistically stand out from the rest of Canada in their ideas about health care, and on average are not more socio-morally conservative either.[191] Further, public opinion surveys suggest that Alberta's "general public is not as unquestioningly supportive of the oil industry as is commonly believed," that "69 percent agreed that oil and gas companies have too much say in provincial politics, [and] 60 percent [agree] that oil sand development should be slowed," with 56 percent of respondents agreeing that royalties on gas and oil should be increased.[192] Such findings go some way toward explaining how a province today painted as the bastion of libertarianism and neoliberalism in Canada had, in 2008-2009, "40 percent higher per capita government spending than Ontario, and 30 percent higher than BC"; and how it supports a petrochemical industry built through major investment of state funds, as well as through "direct business subsidies and the creation of new Crown corporations."[193]

Stewart and Sayers suggest that Alberta's consistent voting patterns are less indicative of "libertarian views of the state or moral traditionalism" than they are of a populist "desire to 'say no' to a federal government dominated by… Ontario and Quebec."[194] This "western alienation," as Roger Gibbins terms it, can be traced back to what Clark Banack (among others) suggests was the influence of American-style republican political thought that, in the early days of the Dominion, clashed with "the British-based 'tory' conservatism that played such an important role in the ideological development of much of the rest of English Canada."[195] Grounded in "a broad desire to preserve those institutions such as the British monarchy or the Anglican church that promoted the moral order demanded of [*sic*] the Christian God," this tory conservatism "required the acceptance of certain social hierarchies." Such a hierarchical, paternalistic traditionalism ran against the grain of frontier individualism, and against the "individualistic and egalitarian perspective" of Alberta's populist conservatism then and now, "that stresses the capacity [versus

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[191] Stewart, David K. and Anthony M. Sayers. "Albertans' Conservative Beliefs" in James Farney and David Rayside (eds.) Conservatism in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. 249-267.
They find that the more "sparsely populated areas are more individualistic, [and] less supportive of abortion rights and same-sex marriage" than urban areas. (263)

[192] Ibid., 251; see also p.255

[193] Ibid., 251

[194] Ibid., 252, 251. I would suggest, additionally, that it is reflective of the parliamentary system that permits minority wins and that therefore does not, in its seat distribution, necessarily represent voters' actual preferences.

[195] Banack, Clark. "American Protestantism and the Roots of 'Populist Conservatism' in Alberta" in James Farney and David Rayside (eds.) Conservatism in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. 231-248. p.231

the inferiority] of the common individual and the need to ensure his or her freedom from the oppressive nature of certain established authorities."[196]

Today this sense of separation from Eastern Canadian priorities and culture continues in Alberta, finding traction in resentment bred by the constitutional division of powers in Canada, wherein Parliament, which makes decisions at the federal level, tends to be dominated by representatives from the major eastern provinces, Ontario and Quebec. Decisions on matters of critical concern for the west – "concerns about access to foreign markets, about tariffs, interest rates, freight rates, and the health of the country's transcontinental transportation system" – are made at this federal parliamentary level, which many westerners view as non-representative of their interests, biased toward the East, and therefore untrustworthy.[197]

The populist, or republican, conservative emphasis on the capacity of the individual has also infused a strong attitude of "bootstraps" expectations and values into Albertan culture, given heft by the province's history of "boom" economics and intensive government spending rhetorically presented as "investment," "incentives," and the like, rather than regulation or assistance. Sandra Rollings-Magnusson, in her study of labour in the early settler years on the Canadian prairies, describes how, tired of being exploited and gouged by retailers, banks, machinery dealers, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), grain companies, and grain elevator agents, farmers banded together and "fought for new laws to control the unethical activities of the CPR and grain companies, established cooperative grain associations, took part in the 'Siege on Ottawa' in 1910, and established political parties to represent their views."[198] Though, clearly, these settlers and farmers brought themselves up a great deal through their own and their families' daily back-breaking labour, this history shows how "bootstraps"-based success also relies on leverage at the political level.

By contrast, Lois Harder describes how Alberta's policy environment has shifted in response to the good years of energy wealth, away from political priorities insisted on by the province's settlers in its years of hardship. The directions of Alberta's economic expansion in the 1970s, she writes, were "fuelled by the needs of oil producers, the various services industries that

[196] Ibid., 231-232
[197] Gibbins, 690; also pp.682, 691, 692. See also Harder, 21.
[198] Rollings-Magnusson, Sandra. Heavy Burdens on Small Shoulders: The Labour of Pioneer Children on the Canadian Prairies. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2009. p.8. See also pp.1-7.

the oil and gas sector supported, and the increasingly affluent members of the middle class…". The focus on these particular sets of interests, she continues:

> was justified on the basis of the regional character of the province's economy and on the inadequacy of the markets on which that economy relied. By contrast, those people subjected to the social displacements that emerged out of rapid population growth and economic expansion found their crises framed in terms of individual failings or were simply ignored. The seeming ease with which wealth was accumulated during this period could be used to support the view that systemic inequality could be alleviated by working harder, pulling up one's bootstraps, and taking advantage of the opportunities of a booming economy.[199]

The shift in policy priorities from independent, disadvantaged citizens and small producers to industry and the affluent is made paradoxically cohesive by the underlying principle of the central importance of, again, free enterprise and the rights and freedoms of the individual.

One sees cycling two modes of interpretation of this principle: first, something like the economic vision of Bird, Chang, Sen, and Nussbaum that I described in chapter one, wherein the government is responsible for creating the policy environment within which a person has the real opportunity to pursue his/her capabilities and attendant potential prosperity; second, the neoliberal, "free market," libertarian interpretation, putatively based on each individual succeeding according to his/her own skills and merit, without government "interference" (except for lenient tax and trade laws). These political economic and cultural priorities and their interpretations are, I believe, an influential part of the lifeworld of the Albertans that I interviewed for this project and, therefore, of the lifeworld that influences the lay interpretations of and actions based upon CRC doctrine, which I discuss in chapters four and eight.

Howard and Tamara Palmer write

> The social and economic climate of Alberta has been, in many respects, tailor-made for conservative Dutch immigrants. The values of each have been mutually complementary. Most of the newcomers from the Netherlands have been staunch believers in the free enterprise system and have united with the majority of Albertans in their support for first the Social Credit and then the conservative party. […] The similarity between the beliefs of Reformed people and the dominant values in Alberta has facilitated their adjustment.[200]

It will be seen in chapter three that the history of Dutch CRC immigrants in Holland did facilitate a ready absorption into the type of socio-political, economic climate that awaited them in Alberta.

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[199] Harder, 21

[200] Palmer, Howard, and Tamara Palmer. "The Religious Ethic and the Spirit of Immigration: The Dutch in Alberta." *Prairie Forum*, Vol.7, No.2, 1982, 237-265. p.261

Another formative influence on Alberta's early history, with ongoing impact, were Canada's racialized, assimilationist immigration laws. The order of preference in which Canada sought and accepted immigrants reflected race theory and a worldwide racial hierarchy, until the 1967 revision of immigration policy to remove this bias.[201] Between 1901 and 1911, Alberta's population increased five and a half times, reaching 375,000 by 1911. 57 percent of Alberta's 1911 population were immigrants and most of the rest were migrants from America and Eastern Canada. English-speaking immigrants and migrants from Ontario, Britain, and the United States "made up the largest group and [were] also the most influential politically, economically, and culturally." Aboriginals and Métis, "who constituted the majority of the population less than thirty years before, had become a small minority numbering at most five percent of the population." Overall, writes Palmer, "the population and settlement patterns in the province would not significantly change until after World War Two. Indeed in their ethnic and religious composition, both rural and urban Alberta still show much of the impact of the boom period of immigration and settlement at the turn of the century."[202]

iii. The First Nations of Alberta

Finally, even the shortest account of the Albertan context is incomplete without some discussion of encounters between settlers and First Nations (aka aboriginal or indigenous nations), alluded to above in the 1911 population statistic regarding the outnumbering of the aboriginal population by Europeans and migrants. Like Kenya, Alberta is a site of colonization, a process however begun much earlier in Canada than in East Africa. Also like Kenya, Alberta is marked by ongoing power structures and power struggles, the forms of which were cast during Britain's imperialist "civilizing" project. The most intensive manifestations of this project in Alberta – residential schools, education in religion and in waged labour, pass laws, disenfranchisement, restriction of

[201] Palmer, Howard. "Patterns of Immigration and Ethnic Settlement in Alberta: 1880-1920" in Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (eds.) Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity. Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985. 1-27. (1985a) pp.3-4, 7-27. In this article Palmer lists the order of preference as, beginning with most preferred: British; American; Scandinavian; Dutch, Belgian and French; Germans, Mennonites and Hutterites; Central and Eastern Europeans (Ukrainian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Slovakian, Czech, Polish, Romanian); Jews and Doukhobors (from Russia); Mediterranean (Greek, Lebanese, Italian); Chinese and Japanese (in very small numbers). (pp.8-27)
Palmer, Howard. "Patterns of Immigration and Ethnic Settlement in Alberta: 1920-1985" in Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (eds.) Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity. Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985. 28-49. (1985b) pp.31, 36, 42-43.

[202] Palmer 1985a, 7, 27

trade, regulation and banning of traditional languages and practices, and indirect rule[203] – coincided in time with parallel practices in Kenya.

Today, "racial tensions are a prominent part of contemporary rural life… on the Canadian Prairies. Rural white resentment of aboriginal peoples [*sic*] feeds off issues such as land claims, tax exemptions, hunting rights, and what some see as federal government 'handouts.'"[204] In Alberta, these tensions are in some quarters exacerbated by increasingly forceful assertion of treaty rights by First Nations communities, especially those whose protected reserve lands, livelihoods, and ways of life are encroached on by energy sector developments.

The indigenous people of Canada exist in treaty status with the federal government of Canada. Alberta's aboriginal groups are covered by three treaties, the geographical boundaries of which cross provincial borders, since the treaties were made in the 1870s and 1890s, before final borders were settled. Treaties settled with First Nations groups were in addition to cash and land rights that the Dominion of Canada had already paid HBC, exploring and trading in Canada since 1670, for "its" lands. First Nations who heard about the agreement with HBC were concerned, since to their understanding HBC was a trading company without any jurisdiction over what was, in fact, First Nations land.[205]

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[203] den Otter, A.A. Civilizing the Wilderness: Culture and Nature in Pre-Confederation Canada and Rupert's Land. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2012.
Laliberté, Ron and Vic Satzewich. "Native Migrant Labour in the Southern Alberta Sugar-beet Industry: Coercion and Paternalism in the Recruitment of Labour." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* Vol.36, Issue 1, February 1999, 65-85. 66
Stote, Karen. "The Coercive Sterilization of Aboriginal Women in Canada." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol.36, No.3, 2012, 117-150. In addition to the British assessment of First Nations people as congenitally "lower," "deficient," and weak, Stote documents how women in particular were measured by upper class British notions of femininity, in combination with eugenic perspectives in vogue at the time, by which women categorized as "undesirable" were generally "impoverished, 'undomesticated,' immigrant, and Aboriginal women." Under Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act, in effect from 1928 to 1972, "for those who proved unwilling to assimilate or whose sexuality was deemed difficult to control, sterilization was sometimes the result." Records show that "aboriginal women were disproportionately targeted" by the Act, and that "the number of those sterilized increased as the years passed." (119-120)
Tobias, John L. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy" in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (eds). The Prairie West: Historical Readings (2nd edition). The University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB: Pica Pica Press, 1992. 207-224
Wood, Patricia K. "A Road Runs Through It: Aboriginal Citizenship at the Edge of Urban Development." *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.7, No.4, 2003, 463-473. 467, 468

[204] Epp and Whitson, xxix

[205] Carter, Sarah and Walter Hildebrandt. "'A Better Life With Honor': Treaty 6 (1876) and Treaty 7 (1877) with Alberta First Nations" in Catherine Anne Cavanaugh, Michael Payne, Donald Grant Wetherell (eds.) Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed (Vol.1). Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2006. 236-268. pp.242, 244-245
Preston, 48

Treaty 6, signed in 1876, and Treaty 7, in 1877, are between Canada and the First Nations of, respectively, central (including north-central, around Edmonton) and southern Alberta. Treaty 6 includes three nations, and Treaty 7 includes three as well, comprised also of sub-groups.[206] Treaty 8, signed in 1899, "covers most of northern Alberta, parts of British Columbia, Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon – 840,000 square kilometres," and names twenty-four separate First Nations.[207]

A number of issues exist with regard to the content, intent, legitimacy, and implementation of these treaties. Perhaps most significant is the difference between First Nations and government understanding of what, exactly, the treaties entailed. "From the Indian perspective in several treaty areas," write Francis and Palmer, "these treaties apparently allowed newcomers only the right to use their land, not to purchase it. In their minds, these arrangements were peace, not land settlement, treaties. From the Canadian government's perspective, however, these treaties were outright surrenders of title in return for annuities, reserves, and a trust relationship with the Canadian government."[208] Since treaty records tend to provide only the government's, or writer's, view,[209] First Nations today must defend their positions with reference to Canada's perspective, rather than from the basis of the intent of those who signed them.

The legitimacy of the treaties has also been questioned in terms of "whether the chiefs and headmen really had the authority to sign treaties on behalf of all members of their nations or whether the Crown had the authority to enter into treaties with the First Nations"; as well as on the grounds of the dishonesty of treaty Commissioners, who made disingenuous promises and gave descriptions of treaty outcomes that they knew to be false.[210] Despite these contentious

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[206] Carter and Hildebrandt, 237, 238

[207] Preston, 47, 55. The treaty process with the northern First Nations "was commenced after the Geological Society of Canada reported that petroleum existed in the region." Further, "in addition to Treaty 8, the Métis population of Alberta signed an agreement with the federal government, which was ratified in the 1990 Métis Settlements Accord Implementation Act. The Métis of Alberta remain the only Métis population to be granted a land base through treaty negotiation." (47)

[208] Francis and Palmer, 205
See also Calliou, Brian. "1899 and the Political Economy of Canada's North-West: Treaty 8 as a Compact to Share and Peacefully Co-Exist" in Catherine Anne Cavanaugh, Michael Payne, Donald Grant Wetherell (eds.) Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed (Vol.1). Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2006. 301-331. pp.305, 314; Huseman and Short, 216-218

[209] Calliou, 302

[210] Ibid., 324. Calliou also writes, "For example… Commissioner [David] Laird sought to quiet the fears of First Nations about their right to continue to ravel freely in their traditional lands and to continue their traditional economy by making assurances of being 'as free after signing treaty as you are now'… Yet, Laird knew full well that the taking up of lands for settlement and industrial development was going to occur and that government regulations had continually limited Aboriginal peoples' ability to carry on their traditional livelihood. Laird also

aspects, the treaties are considered to have been signed in perpetuity. They are not terminable or abrogatable by any legislator or courts, and were recognized and reaffirmed in the 1982 Canadian Constitution Act, or, Charter of Rights and Freedoms.[211]

However, despite treaty assurances that indigenous people would be able "to continue their traditional livelihoods of hunting, trapping, and fishing for subsistence and commerce"[212] and that the land and its resources would be shared between the new settlers and the First Nations, indigenous communities are chronically impoverished and underfunded, with living conditions well below the minimum standards of the rest of Canada. In Attawapiskat First Nation in Ontario, for example, "people continue to live under boil-water orders, in substandard housing and without proper health care systems in place – even while DeBeers mines diamonds from their traditional lands."[213] Similarly, "Northern Alberta, which boasts one of the largest deposits of oil in the world, is also home to some of the most impoverished Indigenous communities in the country."[214]

Besides the issue of distribution of wealth gained from resources taken out of traditional, or treaty, lands, industrial development for accessing these resources also restricts and diminishes the First Nations' ability to use the land for traditional subsistence: development obstructs access to hunting and fishing grounds and pollutes waterways that are vital to the ecosystems on which subsistence livelihoods depend.[215] This is of particular concern in Northern Alberta, and of increasing intensity as of recent years, when more easily accessed oil has been depleted and large-scale oil sands extraction has begun. In the Athabasca delta and watershed landscapes of the Athabasca River and its tributaries, for example, Dene and Cree First Nations as well as Métis communities have had their ability to hunt, trap, and fish "severely curtailed" by "massive deforestation… open-pit mining, depletion of watersheds, toxic contamination [of waterways and drinking water], [and] the destruction of habitat and biodiversity"[216] as well as physical and

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knew of the Indian Act and how it would be used to administer nearly every aspect of First Nations' lives…". (325)

[211] Carter and Hildebrandt, 238; Parlee, 430; Wood, 465-466

[212] Calliou, 314, and also 318-324 (a summary of the contents of Treaty 8)

[213] Preston, 54

[214] Parlee, 429. "Significant disparities exist with respect to almost every social and economic indicator. Using four indicators – educational attainment, employment, income, and housing conditions, Statistics Canada reports that the well-being of Indigenous communities in the prairie provinces is in the bottom 1/3 percentage of the Indigenous population as a whole. In addition, some of the highest disparities between the well-being of non-Indigenous and Indigenous people have been found in northern Alberta." (429)

[215] Parlee, 426; Preston, 45

[216] Huseman and Short, 236

institutional barriers posed by industrial land leases. Where it is physically possible to practice a subsistence livelihood "people are often too fearful of toxins to drink water and eat fish from waterways polluted by the 'externalities' of tar sands production."[217]

The negative effects of oil sands development "has been greatly facilitated by the [failure of government] to comply with [its] own laws and through the *de facto* extinguishment of treaty rights, prioritizing mining over local concerns."[218] The Government of Alberta, for instance, in the 1930 Natural Resources Transfer Agreement [NRTA] "transferred 'authority' over natural resources from the federal to provincial governments. In opposition to Treaty 8... the NRTA states that 'only the Alberta government has a legal right of ownership and management of provincial lands and resources.'"[219] In addition, the 2003 Amendment to the Public Lands Act "entrenched the rights of corporations to public lands by limiting access of Indigenous peoples and others to roads and other resource corridors."[220]

Of late, "movements asserting Indigenous sovereignty" have increasingly posed "significant barriers to extractive industries working in settler colonial nation-states."[221] Most recently contested in Alberta and BC has been Enbridge's Northern Gateway project. The pipeline, now indefinitely on hold due to environmental requirements and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's proposed oil tanker ban on BC's north coast,[222] was widely criticized by environmental groups and opposed by close to one hundred indigenous nations in BC and Alberta.

Outcomes of these protests and of conflicts over land rights have been various, from an anti-terrorism unit established by the Canadian government in 2012 "to protect the energy industry from 'attacks by extremists',"[223] to revenues won by some First Nations and Métis communities from energy companies "through litigation or threatened litigation."[224] Legally, "consultation" requirements have now been instated that must be met before government or industry can take action on development projects on treaty land. That said, much of this

[217] Ibid., 216; also 223, 226. See also Parlee, 426
[218] Huseman and Short, 228
[219] Parlee, 430
[220] Ibid., 430
[221] Preston, 44
[222] Hunter, Justine and Carrie Tait. "Why Northern Gateway is probably dead." *The Globe and Mail*, Saturday 05 December 2015. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/why-the-northern-gateway-project-is-probablydead/article27620342/> [Accessed 22 February 2016]
[223] Preston, 43
[224] Parlee, 430

requirement is cosmetic, and indigenous people still have no legal means to enforce a veto or any other conditionalities they may set in place.[225]

In concluding this discussion of Alberta's political economy and its First Nations, it is worth noting what indigenous activists and scholars have tried to make clear, which is that, as much as First Nations are fighting for land, they are fighting for identity, culture, and moral ground as well. Huseman and Short quote aboriginal author and activist Andrea Smith as saying, "when Native peoples fight for cultural/spiritual preservation, they are ultimately fighting for the land base which grounds their spirituality and culture." They explain:

> the land or 'specific geographical setting' with which many indigenous nations/communities identify themselves, fundamentally embodies their 'historical narrative' and who they are as peoples; with both their 'practices, rituals, and traditions', and their political and socio-economic cohesion as a group, inextricably bound to the surrounding landscape. Alienation from that landscape, therefore, inevitably results in the dissolution of an indigenous peoples' 'network of practical social relations', for they will no longer be able to carry out, develop, and preserve their 'cultural heritage and traditions', or 'pass these traditions on to subsequent generations' – thereby rendering them 'socially dead'.[226]

Within the larger cultural and historical scheme of Alberta post-1905, the ongoing effort to forcibly or coercively "extinguish" indigenous rights and connections to their traditional lands is easily seen as an ongoing colonial project in an environment where the colonizers "won," but not quite entirely. The First Nations' will to remain nations and not assimilate flies in the face of Alberta's and Canada's long assimilationist policy history. At the same time, in a small parallel, the First Nations' reserves can be seen as a type of Alberta within Alberta – a republic of their own, defying the federation, and determined to cultivate the context within which they believe each individual will be best equipped to live his/her best life, within and as a community with shared values. The First Nations-settler clash is, besides an economic and oppression-based relationship, a relationship of fertile ground for cross-cultural exchange. Unfortunately, to date this potential has been largely devalued.

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[225] Huseman and Short, 228; Parlee, 430

[226] Huseman and Short, 221.
"Many aspects of social capital are grounded in the cultural traditions and subsistence economies of Indigenous communities; the associated knowledge, practices, and institutions might equally be framed as cultural capital. As Duhaime and others have noted, subsistence does not simply involve hunting, fishing, and other food gathering activities; '. . .it is a powerful ideology that extends into other areas of life including raising of children, and the treatment of elders. It also contributes to the structure of social relations, community leadership and moral authority.'" (Parlee, 432)

iv. Lifeworld Reflections

The purpose of this brief political economic outline and history of Alberta in 2016 is to give some detail to the "lifeworld" or "habitus" of my Albertan interviewees, and of the CRC itself, in this part of North America. The Albertan context affects and intertwines with the assumptions and priorities of its citizens, their understandings of economics and possibility, of labour and government, of community, of poverty, and of the proper and best ways to engage with and address such things. This is not to suggest that such views are inevitably parochial, but it is to say that insofar as people have and need a functional worldview, and insofar as assumptions are inextricable from that, it is inevitable that one's place, history, opportunities, and relationships – economic, religious, environmental, political, and other – will affect one's expectations and understandings of these things for the lives of other people, at home and abroad. In chapter four I point to some of the ways in which I see this as a factor in the expectations of Albertan CRCNA members for the work of World Renew in Kenya.

An example of such is Alberta's heritage of distaste for (what is viewed as) government overreach and its cultural pride in small businesses and independent producers. This cohered well with the similar sentiments brought by mid-20th century Dutch immigrants, described in the next chapter, who arrived in search of economic opportunity free from the "red tape" of post-War Holland's newly bureaucratic government. Canada's laissez-faire liberal attitude toward religious beliefs and practices, too, permitted the Dutch CRC to continue its relatively self-enclosed religious-ethnic traditions – largely unnoticed, and without interference. These factors, and Alberta's overall good economy, have allowed the CRC in Alberta to flourish and prosper with little hindrance.

Further, as I think this chapter makes clear, CRC constituents in Alberta (/in Canada / the West) inhabit a climate governed significantly by the normative logic and mores of neoliberal, "free market," capitalism. In Alberta, this is most vivid in the prioritization of "oil above all" – above natural environment, above human welfare, and above prior government agreements, though this is an extreme that most people do not explicitly articulate. Interviews show that CRC members are, unsurprisingly, not exceptions to this dominant norm.

Complicating matters for World Renew is the positive cultural valuation of affluence that is, while not necessarily a result of, a useful partner for existent economic norms. In a province with a large and healthy middle class that dominates political and economic will, affluence (as in

most of the world) signifies possession of socio-moral authority and "common sense." In chapter eight I suggest that, in addition to certain cultural traits identified in chapter four, a sense of an especially well-honed economic dexterity, as well as of divine approval implied by terms like "blessed," must underlie the implacable insistence of CRC congregants on "doing," "going," and "helping" when it comes to aid abroad. Finally, also addressed in chapters four and eight, there is the well-recognized free market and commodification-based consumer culture of Western society which, internalized as part of a *habitus*, gives rise to certain ways of framing or "packaging" poverty and aid for people who want to help – but in ways that they themselves specify.

II. A Brief Look at Kenya's Political Economy

i. Pre-colonial Practices, Colonial Rule, and the Struggle for Independence

For twenty-first century Kenya, pre-colonial practices, colonial rule, the fight for independence, and post-independence struggles together comprise an interlocked bundle of political, economic, and social realities. Pre-colonial practices, that is, those that predate colonization, are discernable today in tribal customs and traditions (in which I would include African Traditional Religions, ATR), languages and loyalties. Though what constitutes "tribe" or any particular tribe today may or may not resemble what these once were – in part due to how tribe was reconstructed and employed by the British in Kenya, as well as by later Kenyan leaders – for most Kenyans tribe remains a significant source of identity and guidance with both positive and negative manifestations.[227] Most infamously, ideas of tribe have been wielded powerfully by Kenya's political elite to foster and maintain tribal divisions for their own benefit. Simultaneously blaming and calling upon tribal loyalties, Kenyan leaders have provoked, created, and manipulated imaginations of tribe, and allegiances thereto, to divide, dissuade, and divert the potential civic power of Kenyans, employing ethnicity as a divisive force among citizens and as an accusatory basis against rivals. Following the contested national elections of 1991-92, 1997-

[227] Re. pre-colonial existence and practices of tribes in Kenya:
Maathai, Wangari Muta. Unbowed: A Memoir. London: William Heineman, 2007. p.7f
Wortham, Robert. Spatial Development and Religious Orientation in Kenya. Distinguished Dissertations Series Vol.9, Mellen Research University Press: San Francisco, 1990. pp.8-14
Wrong, Michela. It's Our Turn to Eat: The Story of a Kenyan Whistle Blower. London, UK: Fourth Estate, 2009. pp.44, 48, 49
Re. shifts in meaning of tribe under colonial rule:
Wrong, 44, 49
Berman Bruce, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka (eds). Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa. Oxford: J. Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004. 2-21
Freund, Bill. The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society Since 1800 (2nd edition). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998. p.134

98, and 2007-08, intertribal resentments and suspicions incited by competing politicians resulted in horrific violence. The aftermath of this is ongoing and there is now a concerted effort to prevent susceptibility to this type of hate speech.[228] Aside from ideas of tribe, pre-colonial practices of communal labour have also been co-opted by the post-colonial state to its own ends, in the institution of *harambee*, discussed at the end of this chapter. Chapter six of this dissertation addresses a number of other traditional practices that are ongoing in modern Kenya – gender roles, and the association of wealth with authority – but I have excluded these from this political-economic overview.

Colonial rule, and Britain's economic and social policies of exploitation, segregation, and oppression have had long term impact on government and social structure in Kenya, and on the shape of economic development. A nation's economic policies and decisions, however independently formulated they may be, are also linked to the economic outcomes of its particular history. Besides the interpretation and utilization of tribe in a newly categorical and divisive manner, Africans were excluded by law from access to property, trade, industry, and ownership of land or means of production, relegated to subsistence agriculture or coerced into unskilled, low-paying labour by the obligation to pay mandatory taxes.[229] Not considered citizens, Africans were also excluded from political representation and thus decision-making (e.g. regarding the use of

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[228] Bratton, Michael and Mwangi S. Kimenyi. "Voting in Kenya: Putting Ethnicity in Perspective." *Afrobarometer*. Working paper no. 95. 2008. <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/wp95-voting-kenya-putting-ethnicity-perspective> [Accessed 18 February 2016]
International Coalition for the Responsibility to Project. "The Crisis in Kenya." < http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-kenya> [Accessed 16 January 2016]
Klopp, Jacqueline. "The NCCK and the Struggle Against 'Ethnic Clashes' in Kenya" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.183-199.
wa Wamwere, Koigi. Towards Genocide in Kenya: The Curse of Negative Ethnicity. Nairobi: MvuleAfrica Publishers, 2008; NY: Seven Stories Press, 2003.
Wrong, 295-316

[229] Freund, 191; Maathai, 62-3; Wrong, 47
Maxon, Robert M. "The Establishment of the Colonial Economy" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 63-74. (1992a)
Mburu, F.M. "The Social Production of Health in Kenya" in Steven Feierman and John M. Janzen (eds). The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. 409-425.
Ndege, Peter Odhiambo. "Internal Trade in Kenya, 1895-1963" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 201-222.
Ogonda, R.T. "The Colonial Industrial Policies and the Process of Industrialization in Kenya" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 159-170. (1992b)
Olupona, Jacob K. "African Religions and the Global Issues of Population, Consumption, and Ecology" in Harold Coward and Daniel C. Maguire (eds). Visions of a New Earth: Religious Perspectives on Population, Consumption, and Ecology. State University of New York Press, 2000. 175-197. p.188

taxes), though they were readily employed to go to war on behalf of the empire.

As per the general British approach to colonization, in Kenya "unclaimed" land and livestock were seized, while other lands were "purchased" or sometimes gained under 999 year leases.[230] Indigenous forests were cleared for timber, coffee, and tea plantations, actions which displaced traditional agriculture and had immediate and long term negative environmental effects, impacting and limiting future agricultural practices and possibilities.[231] Further, capital from and for trade, industry, and exports, as well as British colonial administration, was concentrated in urban centres, which again excluded most Africans from participation. Africans who migrated to cities formed shanty towns, many of which are now expansive slums, finding employment as labourers and house help. Finally, the establishment of commercial banks for Europeans, along with the introduction of standardized cash currency, simplified the flow of fiscal capital out of Kenya to England.[232] Along with colonial centres and transportation corridors which set the trajectory for current urban patterns and centres of growth, the colonial (re)organization of labour and production, and of populations for labour purposes, led to lasting changes in social relations and the organization of Kenyan society.[233]

Aspects of the country's lengthy struggle for independence also color Kenya's current political-economic narrative. Though moderate groups of Kenyans had been lobbying for some time for changes in land distribution, market access and other areas of British economic policy, the Mau Mau Rebellion is today credited as being the critical push behind Britain's final exodus from power. However, despite the key role of the Mau Mau in Kenya's liberation, a significant

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[230] Freund, 107; Maxon 1992a
Chidester, David. Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

[231] Maathai, 123
Kenyanchui, Simon S.S. "European Settler Agriculture" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 111-128.

[232] Kenyanchui; Mburu; Ndege.
Maxon, Robert M. "The Colonial Financial System" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992b. 249-258.
Ogonda 1992b

[233] Berman, Bruce and John Lonsdale. Unhappy Valley: Clan, Class, and State in Colonial Kenya. Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1992. Book I.
Obudho, R.A. and Rose A. Obudho. "The Colonial Urban Development Through Space and Time, 1895-1963" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 147-158.
Ogonda, R.T. "Transport and Communications in the Colonial Economy" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 129-146. (1992a)
Zeleza, Tiyambe. "The Colonial Labour System in Kenya" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 171-200.

and ironic moral lesson of this history is one of political quietism.

Captured Mau Mau rebels were imprisoned by the British in gulags far from their homes. Abused, humiliated, and sometimes executed, they fought for eight years to regain their land from the British. Though the rebels were eventually defeated, the British left Kenya shortly afterward. At independence the contested lands were redistributed among the new leadership and the elites of the Home Guard, Kenyans who had been loyal to the British. A permanent redistribution of wealth and opportunity had occurred, and landlessness drove many ex-Mau Mau and their families into the city to find alternate means of survival.[234]

In the eyes of many landless or otherwise disenfranchised Kikuyu, who comprise Kenya's largest ethnic group, the reward for the Mau Mau's effort was economic marginalisation. As one interviewee put it, "the trophy was given to the spectators."[235] In combination with Britain's brutality toward the Mau Mau, and certainly buttressed by decades of political repression under the country's second president, Daniel Arap-Moi, one major national lesson has been the value of keeping your head down. At best, Kenya's government has not cared; at worst, resistance costs not only you, but your descendants, a livelihood and future.

ii. Independent Kenya: Colonial Aftermath and Neo-Colonial Rule

Long term outcomes of colonial rule in Kenya include the position of economic disadvantage in which it, like many colonized nations, was left by European "development," or “civilization.” That said, the choices of subsequent governments have done little to improve this state of affairs. When the British left Kenya in 1963, its new government adopted the parliamentary system of governance that Britain had established there. As Kenyan elites slipped into roles left vacant by departing British heads, the attendant wealth and advantage also transferred to them. Social strata that had been cultivated by the British to maintain colonial order and interests were largely left intact, as was the stratification of industry, production, and labour along ethnic lines. The fifty years following independence have so far seen little change in this trend of leadership, and have

[234] Berman and Lonsdale; Maathai, 64-67, 68-69; Wrong, 108-112
Anderson, David. Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005.
Elkins, Caroline. Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of the End of Empire in Kenya. New York: H. Holt, 2005.
Meredith, Martin. The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence. New York: Perseus Books, 2005.

[235] Raphael Kinuthia Wainaina. Interviewee near Thika, Central Province, who lived through the Rebellion, and had sided with the Mau Mau by smuggling weapons and food to fighters in the forest.

been characterized by extreme wealth-poverty disparity between elite and ordinary citizens,[236] as well as by entrenched corruption at all levels of governance.[237]

The Goldenberg financial scandal of the 1990s, for example, under Moi, would "debauch the currency, make all Kenyans thirty percent poorer, and slash the gross domestic product by ten percent."[238] All in all the government's "system of authorised looting" in Moi's economy is "estimated to have cost the [Kenyan] taxpayers a total of 635 billion Kenya shillings (roughly $US ten billion) in the space of twenty-four years."[239] That is 635 billion shillings not spent on infrastructure, investment, industry, education, health or other public goods or "durable generative assets."[240]

In 2014, Kenya's government ranked 145th out of 174 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, with 174 being the most and one being the least corrupt.[241] Until 2013 Kenya's political leaders were the highest paid in the world. As of Uhuru Kenyatta's 2013 election, the salaries of Members of Parliament were cut by forty percent leaving them at $75,000 USD per year, while Kenyatta himself took a twenty percent pay cut, placing him at the third highest presidential salary in Africa.[242] Kenyans pay a sixteen percent general sales tax, but government income designated for public services like education, healthcare, or roads, rarely makes it to its intended destination. Though on paper these services exist, they are poorly and sporadically funded and staffed, and often, in the case of physical infrastructures, incomplete, or badly made and in need of frequent repairs, a state of affairs perpetuated by a system of kickbacks between corrupt politicians and contractors.

The majority of the rural population continues to practice subsistence farming, though farming as livelihood is supplemented and complicated by intra-national remittances and the

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[236] Freund, 211; Olupona, 188; Wortham, 31; Wrong, 175, 190

[237] Freund, 210-211; Wortham, 28-30, 33; Wrong, 61-63, 165-66
Ochieng', William R. "The Post-Colonial State and Kenya's Economic Inheritance" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 259-272.

[238] Lonsdale, John. "Compromised Critics: Religion in Kenya's Politics" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. pp 57-94. p.61

[239] Wrong, 184

[240] Bird, Frederick. "Addressing the Global Crisis of Economic Growth: An Unavoidable Ethical Challenge" in Gary Badcock (ed.), God and the Financial Crisis. Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016.

[241] Transparency International. "Corruption Perceptions Index 2014: Results." <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results> [Accessed 19 January 2016]

[242] BBC News Africa. "Kenyan MPs 'agree to lower salaries'." 12 June 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22881161> [Accessed 19 January 2016]; Daily Nation, Nairobi. "Uhuru finally takes 20pc pay cut." 19 January 2015. <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Uhuru-finally-takes-20pc-pay-cut/-/1056/2595042/-/1293otiz/-/index.html> [Accessed 19 January 2016]

related separation of families by urban employment.[243] While subsistence farming may supply a family with certain basic necessities, access to land does not guarantee the cash needed to adequately feed, clothe and shelter one's family, and educate one's children, at the very minimum of cash needs.[244] High numbers of people are also landless working poor living in urban slums (every town and city has a slum, not just Nairobi).[245] The vast majority of urban employment is in the low-income informal sector. This sector includes domestic help, as well as small unregistered kiosks, food vendors, other street vendors, waste pickers, and more.[246] NGO and community development-related careers take a distant second place, and the tourism and service industry are in third.[247]

Despite achieving independence, Kenya's economic fortunes have been tied throughout the post-colonial decades to the vicissitudes of the global lending policies and goals of wealthy nations and multilateral institutions. Thus, while the 1960s and early seventies were a period of growth, the late seventies and eighties global recession and oil crisis devastated Kenya's economy, a collapse from which it has yet to recover. Though Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta (from 1963-1978), was hardly less authoritarian and corrupt than his descendants would be,[248] the country benefited during his governance from an overall robust global economy, and from the generous international lending politics of the Cold War. Multilateral lending bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, as well as individual Western governments, were eager to loan African countries money in order to have them allied to the side of the first world (versus the second, Communist world). At the same time, low interest rates encouraged generous acceptance of debt by African leaders, including Kenyatta. Following the

[243] As described for example in Davis, Benjamin, Gero Carletto, and Paul C. Winters, "Migration, Transfers and Economic Decision Making among Agricultural Households: an Introduction" in *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1, January 2010, 1–13; and in Kikulwe, Enoch M., Elisabeth Fischer, and Matin Qaim, "Mobile Money, Smallholder Farmers, and Household Welfare in Kenya" in PLoS ONE Vol. 9, Issue 10, October 2014, 1-13.

[244] See, e.g. Dose, Henriette. "Securing Household Income Among Small-scale Farmers in Kakamega District: Possibilities and Limitations of Diversification." Hamburg, Germany: GIGA Working Paper 41, 2007. < https://giga.hamburg/en/system/files/publications/wp41_dose.pdf> [Accessed 19 January 2016] This was also related to me by almost every rural Kenyan individual and group I interviewed.

[245] AFIDEP, African Institute for Development Policy. "Population, Climate Change, and Sustainable Development in Kenya." Policy and Issue Brief. Washington, DC; Nairobi: Population International and the African Institute for Development Policy, November 2012. < https://www.afidep.org/?wpfb_dl=26> [Accessed 19 January 2016] This brief states that 55% of urban residents in Kenya live in poverty in slums.

[246] WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing). "About the Informal Economy." <http://wiego.org/informal-economy/about-informal-economy> [Accessed 17October2013]

[247] Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. *Kenya Facts and Figures 2012*. p.32 <http://knbs.or.ke/downloads/pdf/Kenyafacts2012.pdf> [Accessed 17October2013]

[248] Wrong, 184

precepts of economic orthodoxy at the time, Kenya "prospered on the basis of promoting cash-crop production" and the export of raw commodities rather than focusing on the development of a manufacturing sector or other long-term investments into economic independence.[249]

The late 1970s then saw Kenya enter a prolonged period of economic crisis, due to combined external and internal factors. On the global economic stage, the oil crisis and related "deterioration in international terms of trade, the world recession and the rise in unemployment, interest rates, and protective barriers in industrialized economies,"[250] and the subsequent collapse of commodity prices meant that Kenyatta's borrowing decisions began to work against the nation's economy. As Kenya's export market shrank and its currency begin to devalue, the terms of it's loans changed, with rising interest rates increasing Kenya's debt servicing obligations just as it entered a recession along with the rest of the world.[251] This combination created an increased need for outside assistance, a need readily met by the ongoing Cold War-fuelled strategic generosity of the West: "Seen as too important to be allowed to fail, Kenya became the first sub-Saharan country in the 1980s to receive structural funding from the IMF."[252] Between 1977 and 1982, Kenya's net government borrowing "rose from less than five to nearly seventeen percent of GDP,"[253] and "at its height in the early 1990s, aid from both the multinational lending institutions and donor nations which followed their lead accounted for forty-five percent of the Kenyan government budget."[254]

Structural adjustment reforms for economic liberalization shrank the Kenyan state, opened the economy to outside investors, consultancies, and multinational corporations, and created opportunities for the growth of civil society and media.[255] They also came with a large number of conditionalities in support of the stabilization and adjustment objectives of the IMF

[249] Freund, 255
[250] Godfrey, Martin. "Stabilization and Structural Adjustment of the Kenyan Economy, 1975-85: An Assessment of Performance." *Development and Change* (SAGE, London, Newbury Park, Beverly Hills and New Delhi), Vol. 18, 1987, 595-624. p.596
[251] Freund 255; Godfrey 596; Wrong 183
[252] Wrong, 184; 183
[253] Godfrey, 607; "…the relentless rise of the external debt service ratio, one of the most worrying aspects of Kenya's recent economic history… reflects the recourse that was taken to variable-interest-rate loans at a time when international interest rates were rising." (608)
[254] Wrong, 184; "Between 1970 and 206, [Kenya] received a total of $US 17.26 billion from its foreign allies, roughly one and a quarter times what the Americans spent on the Marshall Plan designed to rescue the whole of war-ravaged Europe." (184)
[255] Ibid., 160

and the World Bank.[256] While the government was managing to meet its external debt service targets and conditions, under these conditionalities the means by which this was achieved tended to be to the detriment of the nation's citizens.

Import liberalization and nominal currency devaluation (i.e., by government decree), for example, are two usual IMF strategies for promoting outside investment and spending as part of structural adjustment reforms. By 1985, import liberalization at Kenya's borders meant that tariffs and quotas "were due to have been eliminated on all but twelve percent of import items,"[257] a change that undermined domestic manufacturing and production, while opening the market to goods from elsewhere. Meanwhile, currency devaluation simultaneously diminished the purchasing power of Kenyan consumers and producers to, respectively, purchase or compete with the new flood of imports. Finally, government budgetary restrictions and the minimization of the public sphere in favour of private investment, also by IMF policy, reduced social services and the availability of public servants to help citizens through austerity-related difficulties, or at least to ensure the continuation of essential services. (At the same time, "a freeze on all 'inessential spending' in March to June 1983 eliminated all spending except salaries in most ministries." Government salaries in fact increased as an expenditure over time, while other budget items suffered.)[258]

By the 2000s, writes journalist Michela Wrong, "living standards in the independent, sovereign state of Kenya were actually lower than when the hated British ruled the roost."[259] Things remain much the same today in the mid-2010s, the trends of the 1970s, eighties, and nineties continuing unchecked (aside from population growth, which is much slowed). In 2012 and 2013 Kenya's economy grew by 4.6 percent and 4.7 percent, respectively. At the same time, inflation outpaced growth, at six percent overall for 2013-14, with food inflation at

[256] Godfrey, 596; "IMF conditionality has been mainly concerned with limiting the government's budget deficit and government borrowing from the banking system and with restoring external balance. Thus it has pressed for reforms in exchange rate policy, import liberalization, wage restraint and increases in interest rates - the usual IMF strategy… . The World Bank… conditions for its June 1982 structural adjustment loan …cover, among other things, government investments in parastatals and public companies, incentives for new industries, export promotion, agricultural pricing, management of agricultural programmes, land policy, energy policy, population policy and forward budgeting procedures. …the two agencies have different approaches to monitoring fulfillment of their conditions, the Fund inspecting numerical outcomes and the Bank policy actions." (596, 599; p597-8 are Tables)

[257] Ibid., 606

[258] Ibid., 607

[259] Wrong, 11

approximately 8.5 percent.[260] Growth remains threatened by drought and erratic rainfall, unfavourable global money conditions linked to recessions and crises in developed country economies, and ongoing domestic security issues.

Major droughts and current shifts in climate and rainfall patterns[261] have made it difficult to maintain production even at subsistence levels, nevermind for market or export. Occurrences of famine are on the rise, since there is not as much time to recuperate as there has been in the past, when droughts were a routine part of the region's arid and semi-arid climates, expected once a decade in addition to regular dry seasons and flash floods. The lack of time for recuperation and preparation results in worse effects of drought, and a vicious cycle of lack and underproduction for Kenya's agricultural sector.[262] Further, with 56 percent of Kenya's exports going to developing countries[263] like Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Uganda – all of these also nations with periodic unrest, and their own manufacturing and agricultural economies to grow – when Kenya's neighbours do not do well, Kenya also has a more difficult time thriving; an example of the regional poverty trap that Paul Collier describes in *The Bottom Billion*.[264]

Besides the looting of State House, political and economic elites have also habitually appropriated to themselves large tracts of choice land throughout the country. In the 1970s, government corruption was "exemplified specifically by the elite's confiscation of large farms which were intended to be redistributed to the poor as small freeholder farms."[265] And still in the 1980s and 1990s there was little to no regulation of land use or distribution. Near Nairobi, "in the 1980s large tracts of land were leased or sold to wealthy individuals or groups with little or no consideration for the future of the expanding city populations," the city's growth pattern

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[260] World Bank. "Executive summary. Kenya economic update; Edition No. 10." Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2014. p.v <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/06/19769261/take-off-delayed-kenyas-economy-facing-headwinds-2014-special-focus-delivering-primary-health-care-services-vol-1-2-executive-summary> [Accessed 19 February 2016]

[261] Ibid.

[262] Loewenberg, Sam. "Breaking the Cycle: Drought and Hunger in Kenya." *The Lancet*, Vol.383, No.9922, 22 March 2014, 1025-1028.
Mateche, Damaris E. "The Cycle of Drought in Kenya a Looming Humanitarian Crisis." Nairobi: Institute for Security Studies, 18 January 2011. <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/the-cycle-of-drought-in-kenya-a-looming-humanitarian-crisis> [Accessed 19 January 2016]

[263] Godfrey, 611

[264] Jane Kiringai notes that while "empirical evidence suggests that, as a coastal country with a port, Kenya should have 1.5 growth advantage [*sic*] over her landlocked neighbours […] inefficiency and high transaction costs negate Kenya's geographical advantage." (Kiringai, Jane. "Kenya: A Structural Transformation Paradox and Challenges for the Current Decade" in Ernest Aryeetey, Shantayanan Devarajan, Ravi Kanbur, and Louis Kasekende (eds.), The Oxford Companion to the Economics of Africa. Oxford University Press, 2012. 505-509. p.508)

[265] Wortham, 31

dominated by the interests of the various stakeholders running the city's administration over time.[266]

Kenya's land distribution situation was described in the 1980s as "one of the most concentrated patterns of land ownership existing in the world today,"[267] a pattern that remains unchanged, if not intensified, as the population has more than doubled since that time. Population growth rates increased rapidly between the 1950s and 1980s (a trend that has since slowed but which still has long term ramifications for future population numbers), leading to further competition for scarce resources.[268] This population growth, in combination with severely limited land availability, and diminishment of manufacturing and production incentives and capabilities, also led to massive and widespread unemployment. By international standards current unemployment in Kenya stands at forty percent,[269] over half of which is concentrated in a youth unemployment rate of fifty-to-eighty percent among people aged fifteen-to-thirty-four years old. (The World Bank measures that 17.4 percent out of the total forty percent estimated unemployed formal labour force is between ages fifteen and twenty-four,[270] but Kenyan "youth" statistics include people between ages fifteen and thirty-four.[271] Between fifty and eighty percent of employable youth by the Kenyan measure are jobless.[272]) This overabundance of labour has contributed to a steep decline in wages, a trajectory made worse by currency devaluation linked to global inflation and IMF reforms. Between 1980 and 1985, "the real value [i.e. purchasing power] of the official minimum wage fell by thirty-two percent," reflecting a concomitant thirty-three percent devaluation of the Kenyan shilling. At the same time, wages also fell in real terms (i.e. actual earnings) by seventeen percent over the same period.[273]

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[266] Mburu, 412

[267] Godfrey, 615. Godfrey also notes here that already by 1976 it was estimated that about twelve per cent of rural households in Kenya had no land at all.

[268] AFIDEP. "Population, Climate Change, and Sustainable Development in Kenya."

[269] As of 2013, the latest statistic year available. CIA World Factbook. "Unemployment Rate." <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2129.html> [Accessed 23 February 2016] Re. standard international measurements versus local measurements see: Hope Sr., Kempe Ronald. The Political Economy of Development in Kenya. NY; London; Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2013. pp.46-47

[270] The World Bank. "Unemployment, youth total (% of total labor force ages 15-24) (modeled ILO estimate)." The World Bank Group, 2016. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS> [Accessed 23 February 2016] NB. that youth under age 18 in Kenya are excluded from formal employment by law.

[271] Zepudo, Eduardo, Fatou Leigh, Lydia Ndirangu, Jacob Omollo, and Stephen Wainaina. "Discussion Paper: Kenya's Youth Employment Challenge." NY, NY: UNDP, January 2013. <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Kenya_YEC_web(jan13).pdf> [Accessed 23 February 2016] p.7

[272] Ibid., 10

[273] Godfrey, 605-606, 609

The trend of inflation, unemployment, and devalued labour continues today, as Kenya's GDP remains in a slow growth pattern, affected by periodic political unrest within its own borders (1982 coup attempt; post-election violence of 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007; terrorist bombings of 1990 and 2014; and ongoing terrorist threats and activity) as well as by the socio-economic difficulties of its regional neighbours. For farmers, who had done well in comparison to wage earners, thanks to Kenya's use of mandated "agricultural pricing policy to create incentives for increased agricultural production and to meet its development goals of promoting small holder production," these regional difficulties in addition to crises of weather are two factors that cannot be controlled by policy, and they have been and continue to be to their detriment.

Due in large part to government corruption at multiple levels, and despite the multitude of NGOs that seek to buttress public services, most low-income Kenyans are unable to access quality education and healthcare. Putatively "public," in reality good schools and health are only available to those who can pay out of pocket. In terms of roads, once one branches away from central Nairobi or major towns, pavement gives way to dirt roads that become treacherous in rainy seasons, remaining virtually impassable the rest of the year, leaving farmers cut-off from markets. Socially, physically, and economically disempowered, both rural and urban poor have little means to prove or protest these poverty-perpetuating circumstances.

Kenya has no public social security – no welfare, health care, employment insurance or pension plan – and so petty crime and corruption, as well as increasing dependence on kin and other networks are core means of survival among the poor.[274] Though it remains to be seen how the economy will fare under Uhuru Kenyatta, as of 2014 "catastrophic spending on health" continued "to push Kenyan households into poverty… Health-related expenditure pushed hundreds of thousands of Kenyan families into poverty [in 2013] alone."[275] Many communities are also still recuperating from the economic, emotional and relational damage of the 1980s and nineties HIV/AIDS epidemic. HIV-transmission, which is also a gender disparity issue in that it

[274] Ekeh, Peter. "Individuals' Basic Security Needs and the Limits of Democracy in Africa" in Berman Bruce, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka (eds). Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa. Oxford: J. Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004. 22-37.
Shipton, Parker. "Debts and Trespasses: Land, Mortgages, and the Ancestors in Western Kenya." *Africa*, Vol.62, No.3, 1992, 357-388. p.381
Wrong, 55

[275] World Bank Executive Summary 2014, vii

disproportionately affects women, remains a very pertinent socio-economic concern.[276]

Finally, Kenya is militarily involved in the civil war in Somalia, with troops stationed there as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The Al Qaeda-linked Somali terrorist group, Al Shabaab, has periodically attacked parts of Kenya since before its entrance into Somalia, and prior to Al Shabaab Kenya was also victimized by Al Qaeda, which bombed the United States Embassy in downtown Nairobi in 1998, an explosion that killed hundreds of Kenyan civilians. The implications of the strength and proximity of Al Shabaab, the radicalization of Somali-Muslim youth in Kenya, and the government's ongoing failure to sufficiently address terrorism and its sources within Kenya are ongoing social and religious issues for the Kenyan political economy.[277]

iii. NGOs in Kenya

The New Policy Agenda

In response to the oil-related global financial shifts of the late 1970s and their implications for indebted and still needy African nations, Western governments altered their approach to aid, adopting in the 1980s the New Policy Agenda (NPA) approach to development, which prioritizes private entities like NGOs over state agencies. The NPA, writes Megan Hershey, "was built on neoliberal principles of privatization, limited government spending, and the value of civil society as an alternative to state-sponsored services. The United States led this shift away from a state-centered approach to development to a more market-based approach and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund followed suit."[278] Implementation of the NPA was a response to the widespread recession of the seventies and eighties in that NGOs "were seen as a cheaper

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[276] Kagotho, Njeri. "Inheritance in Kenya: The Intersectionality of HIV Serostatus, Poverty, and Gender." *Allia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, Vol.29, Issue 4, November 2014, 434-446.
National Aids Control Council of Kenya. "Kenya AIDS Response Progress Report 2014: Progress Toward Zero." Nairobi: NACC, March 2014. <http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/en/dataanalysis/knowyourresponse/countryprogressreports/2014countries/KEN_narrative_report_2014.pdf> [Accessed 20 January 2016]
UNAIDS. "Every minute, a young woman is newly infected with HIV." Infographic, UNAIDS, 08 June 2012. <http://www.unaids.org/en/resources/infographics/20120608gendereveryminute> [Accessed 20 January 2016]
Yamano, Takashi; Jayne, T.S. "Measuring the Impacts of Working-Age Adult Mortality on Small-Scale Farm Households in Kenya." *World Development*, Vol.32, Issue 1, January 2004, 91-120.

[277] Botha, Anneli. "Radicalisation in Kenya: Recruitment to al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council." ISS Paper 265. Nairobi: Institute for Security Studies, September 2014. <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper265.pdf> [Accessed 20 January 2016]

[278] Hershey, Megan. "Explaining the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Boom: the Case of HIV/AIDS NGOs in Kenya" *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2013. 671-690. p.676; 672.
See also Hearn, Julie. "The 'Invisible' NGO: US Evangelical Missions in Kenya." *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol.32, No.1, 2002, 32-60. pp.33, 46-7, 48.

alternative" than bilateral funding as a use of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and "because increasing their funding was a means of placating the same NGO critics protesting at… aid cuts."[279]

Implementation of the New Policy Agenda, an ongoing project, is done by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), a consortium of donor nations which "acts as a forum for selected Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members to discuss poverty reduction, aid and development; and is a powerful node within the global development architecture." In its majority the DAC is comprised of rich, industrialized nations, as well as the Czech Republic, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia, which four joined in 2013. The European Commission is also a member, with "the IMF, World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) having observer status."[280]

By 2002, forty percent of American development aid was given directly to NGOs: "Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and France all followed suit, either threatening aid cuts for corrupt governments or shifting monies into NGO hands."[281] As a whole, the NPA-led redirection of funds to the private, civil society or non-government sector led to a rapid proliferation of NGOs focused on development and humanitarian assistance.

In Kenya, by the end of the Cold War the NPA's dominance in development discourse, combined with IMF and World Bank reforms, began to have significant impact on the state and civil society. The IMF and World Bank reforms "weakened the state dramatically by undermining its sovereignty, increasing its debt load and ultimately requiring its dependence on Western donors." The NPA, in turn, "further weakened the state by minimizing its role through extreme civil service cuts and prioritizing NGOs as… alternatives to state-run services. Civil society organizations quickly became an integral part of the World Bank's development strategies as it moved NGOs from their role as fringe players to valued consultants and implementers."[282]

In this way, via conditionalities on both loans and grants, a kind of parallel state emerged

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[279] Hearn, 46

[280] Mawdsley, Emma. "Non-DAC Donors and the Changing Landscape of Foreign Aid: the (In)Significance of India's Development Cooperation with Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 4, No.2, July 2010, 361-379. p.361. "However, outside of the DAC… at least 27 other countries are 'giving significant amounts of aid on an annual basis', including Brazil, China, Hungary, Iceland, India, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Venezuela and the United Arab Emirates. Current [cautious] estimates suggest that together they contribute about 10% of global bilateral aid…". (361)

[281] Hershey, 677. NB that "NGO" includes local aka domestic, i.e. non-international NGOs. But this is still most often funneled through or overseen by American and European organizations.

[282] Ibid., 676

in Kenya in which, if the *de jure* government failed to respond to pressures or implement agreed-upon policies, donors were able to respond "by bypassing the state and funding NGOs directly; assistance to NGOs was provided with the intention of offsetting criticism about structural adjustment and in line with donor efforts to reform the state and the public sector."[283] At the same time the Kenyan government, at this time under Moi, took advantage of this situation, playing to the interests and concerns of lenders and donors while siphoning national funds into private bank accounts (what Wrong describes as a "mutually parasitic"[284] relationship, out of which multilateral lending bodies earned huge amounts of income via debt interest payments, and donor governments were able to save money and allay international concerns about corrupt recipient states).

In this context of aid and conditionalities, donors "are often the key agents of diplomatic engagement with Kenya." Given that "the realpolitik of development aid is that it represents one element of the wider geopolitical arena" for donor nations – that is, that interest in the policies of developing nations is directed by the overall global political and economic concerns of donors and lenders – it is not surprising that in the eyes of some observers "bilateral and multilateral OECD-led aid is highly compromised"[285] or at least to be warily observed as soft diplomacy with a neo-imperialist tendency to undermine sovereign states.

History of NGOs

The groundwork, original model, and initiation of what is now the sphere of multilaterally-directed NGO activity in the developing world "emerged in Europe and the United States from a missionary and humanitarian tradition, and as a response to the enormous needs following World War One and World War Two."[286] This is the period and set of impulses out of which the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee, now World Renew, emerged in the early 1960s. Hershey observes that missionary welfare work "filled a space that the colonial government, and later newly independent state, lacked the resources to address"; and, further, that "the

[283] Campbell, John R. "International Development and Bilateral Aid to Kenya in the 1990s." *Journal of Anthropological Research,* Vol. 64, No. 2, Summer 2008, 249-267. p.252.
For example Kenya's DAC donors, who attempted "to force President Moi to implement promised anti-corruption measures, allow political reform, and rein in human rights abuses," and the Kenya Joint Assistance Strategy (KJAS), "an attempt by thirteen bilateral donors (all members of the DAC) and a number of multilateral donors (the European Commission, the African Development Bank, the UN and the World Bank Group) in Kenya to move towards greater harmonisation of aid, in accordance with the Paris Declaration." (Mawdsley, 372)

[284] Wrong, 183

[285] Mawdsley, 374

[286] Hearn, 45

relationships that missionaries cultivated with the government set a precedent for public-private partnerships that continue to promote cooperation between the state and NGOs today."[287]

Within the current development policy environment in Africa, faith-based NGOs (FBNGOs), along with secular NGOs, are one of the most important groups of civil society actors. FBNGOs may be domestic (i.e. from within a nation receiving aid) or international (i.e. based within a donor nation). When it comes to disbursement of development assistance funds from Western governments wishing to bypass direct bilateral routes, the latter are not distinguished from international secular organizations within the category of "NGO." In Kenya, which currently "hosts the largest concentration of US Protestant mission personnel on the continent,"[288] many international FBNGOs, including relief and development charities, are missionary organizations founded with the express intent of multiplying the Christian church in the world. That said, clearly not all FBNGOs are cut from the same cloth; however, World Renew and others that do not explicitly proselytize remain categorized, for funding and bureaucratic purposes, with those FBNGOs that do.

International religious service or mission organizations that identify and are classified as NGOs by Northern governments in the current development environment "where NGOs are being heavily promoted and financed"[289] see both financial and reputational benefits. The U.S. government currently funnels approximately forty percent of its ODA through NGOs (both faith-based and secular), and ninety percent of its assistance to Kenya is via NGOs.[290] In Kenya, where "NGO status [also] provides missions with greater scope and [social] legitimacy,"[291] this classification is therefore a particular boon for a missions-oriented FBNGO. As will be described, though, this lack of distinction among types of FBNGO can become problematic for non-missionizing faith-based development work.

NGOs, both international and local, multiplied rapidly around the globe from the 1980s to the early 2000s.[292] In Kenya in the early 1990s 135 foreign and 149 local NGOs represented thirty to forty percent of development expenditure there. By 1994, after renewed commitment to

[287] Hershey, 672
[288] Hearn, 32; 55
[289] Ibid., 43
[290] Ibid., 34; Hershey, 677. A World Bank estimate of total NGO income saw a rise from 1.5 percent to 30 percent from governments, from the early 1970s to the mid-1990s; and for U.S. NGOs the income from ODA is about two-thirds. (Hearn, 44-45) Thus, though United States ODA is not *focused* on FBNGOs, by identifying as NGOs rather than as missions or service organizations funding does become more accessible to them.
[291] Hearn, 43
[292] Hershey, 673

structural adjustment reforms,[293] this number had nearly doubled, and by 1998 registered NGOs numbered 1,028.[294] As of 2013, 7,284 local NGOs were registered as operating in Kenya, twenty-five times the number that had been at work only twenty-five years prior. A closer look, however, reveals "a proliferation of small, poorly organized and funded, and woefully ambitious organisations." Geographically, the majority were centered in Nairobi and/or central Kenya, while "only sixty to one hundred organisations, many of which were Christian churches, operated in the fifteen poorest rural districts. In short, very few [domestic] NGOs were geographically positioned to address rural poverty directly."[295]

Further qualifying the numbers, local NGO capability and access to international funds are compromised by the presence of International NGOs (INGOs), which, "though small in number, dominate work in development, relief, and 'technical' (e.g. water, appropriate technology) areas." In the mid-nineties a few INGOs funded a small number of local NGO "partners," but these were selected though self-interested strategy. "Primarily concerned with running their own programs, […] donors 'cherry-picked' specific NGOs or particular NGO projects"[296] that fit with goals and formats already in mind. Most local NGOs, therefore, had difficulty securing donor funding. "By the late 1990s," INGOs began to recognize that "their 'partners' – small NGOs and community-based groups – lacked the ability to undertake their stated objectives." This "led to the development of 'capacity-building' programs aimed at providing development training to local NGOs and community groups" to enable them to better partner with INGOs. Bilateral agencies, in turn, "funded capacity building as one activity by which to attain their wider strategic interests."[297]

These processes of NGO increase and INGO influence on objectives and their achievement reveal a simultaneous destabilization and (subsequent) rebuilding of the Kenyan / African grassroots, this time in the image and interests of the West and its donors. Hannah Brown describes partnerships between INGOs and local NGOs as having become "a dominant modality for the bilateral engagements of international donors and aid agencies with governments of the

[293] SourceWatch. "Structural Adjustment in Kenya." SourceWatch, The Center for Media and Democracy, 30 May 2012. <http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Structural_Adjustment_in_Kenya> [Accessed 24 February 2016]
[294] Campbell, 254
[295] Ibid., 257. See also Hershey, 674
[296] Campbell, 254, 256
[297] Ibid., 257-258

global South," legitimizing, she says, "the interventions they organized."[298] Further, the term "partnership" and its connotations of reciprocity and equality "can obscure large discrepancies of power between the parties involved," for example the often huge disparities of funding, or access thereto. Partnerships discourse also justifies and necessitates the tight proximity of foreign agencies with developing country government bodies, as well as the continually reaffirmed mutuality of donor and domestic development interests.[299]

Yet, despite such slippages and overlappings of power, a formal separation is carefully maintained between "the ability to provide resources and the right to deliver them," a separation that makes explicit respect for the government's sovereignty. In Kenya, "external organizations [have] provided resources and 'supported' programs that the Kenyan government 'implemented'." At the same time, external organizations "also had a large stake in successful implementation… to 'see results' and to measure the value of their contributions."[300] Though at times the execution of separate responsibility for resource provision and resource management can create tension, each side deeply needs the other in order to successfully meet its mandated responsibilities. About global health partnerships in Western Kenya, Brown writes:

> without partner organizations, the District Health Management Team could not deliver basic services or fund meetings and training courses in the district. Similarly, without good collaborative relationships with the Ministry of Health, partners appeared to be rogue organizations acting without respect for local people and context. […] In this context, it was what fundamentally differentiated the two partners that held them together; the Americans had access to resources and the Kenyans had legitimate sovereign responsibility for Kenyan citizens. For each side of the partnership, governance without the other was impossible. These differences brought and held the partners together, structuring the form of their integration and constraining possibilities for renegotiating the terms of the relationship.[301]

This description highlights not just the actuality but also the functional importance of agency, sovereignty, and at least some level of mutual capability and interest between INGOs and government agencies for the enactment of development programming.

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[298] Brown, Hannah. "Global Health Partnerships, Governance, and Sovereign Responsibility in Western Kenya." *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2015, 340–355. p.345. See also p.340.

[299] Ibid., 346, 341. Brown adds that "International agencies and foreign governments are increasingly involved in the delivery of health care in areas that were once the domain of the nation-state, often working through state infrastructure to strengthen national health systems and deliver improved health services." (342)

[300] Ibid., 342. For example, "As in other PEPFAR-supported countries, in Kenya [PEPFAR] funding is directed through a bilateral agreement with the Kenyan government, but administration remains primarily with the technical agencies that manage U.S. government overseas assistance." (344)

[301] Ibid., 350

Harambee

Underlying all of these agendas, strategies, and partnerships is another factor unique to Kenya.[302] *Harambee*, translated as "let's pull together," is a national institution with which INGOs have begun to link as development strategy shifts toward finding and directly supporting community-level grassroots planning.

Initiated at independence by Jomo Kenyatta as official state policy,[303] *harambee* borrows from and adapts pre-colonial Kenyan traditions of work parties and local systems of shared labour.[304] In the past, such communal labour would be organized for the benefit of one person or household (e.g. building a house or barn, or taking in a crop), and the good will of each person doing his or her socially sanctioned part kept the practice going and helped maintain community well-being and cohesion. As instituted by Kenyatta, *harambee* symbolized the newly independent nation's spirit of determination to build itself up, working together for unity, for the good of the country and its future of independence.[305]

Simply described, post-independence *harambee* is a system whereby development projects are chosen and initiated by communities themselves. Self-help groups (SHGs) are formed which contribute cash, labour and/or material. These are then "matched" by the central government, which supports the projects "through licensing procedures, technical assistance, selected donations of funds and assigning civil servants."[306] In December 1976, Kenyatta stated that *harambee* projects "accounted for 'forty percent of capital development in all the rural areas' and [for] voluntary cash contributions of one hundred million Kenyan shillings in that year alone" (approximately $USD thirteen million at the time).[307] Since independence, *harambee* has "linked thousands of communities directly to the state, forming a vehicle for the mobilization of

[302] If not entirely in nature, then at least in its political and geographical particularity.

[303] Orora, John H. O. and Hans B. C. Spiegel. "Harambee: Self-Help Development Projects in Kenya." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* Vol.21, No.3-4, 1 January 1980, 243-253. p.244
See also Campbell, 253; Hershey, 672-673

[304] Hill, Martin. "The Roots of Harambee." *New Society* Vol.34, No.689, December 18 1975, 644-646.
See also: Kamogo, Tabitha, and Robert M. Maxon. "Co-operatives" in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds). An Economic History of Kenya. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. 371-382. p.372
Hamer, John H. "Preconditions and Limits in the Formation of Associations: The Self-Help and Cooperative Movement in Subsaharan Africa." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, March 1981, 113-132.

[305] Mutiso-Mbinda, John. "Towards a Theology of Harambee." *African Ecclesiastical Review* Vol.20, No.5, 1978, 287-295. pp.289-290

[306] Orora and Spiegel, 245

[307] Ibid., 244, 249

support for local development."[308]

Harambee projects are undertaken predominantly by rural communities, with few urban examples. Orora and Spiegel suggest that this may be related to the tribal homogeneity and heterogeneity of rural and urban communities, respectively, and the attendant shared or differentiating communal expectations within these. As well, many urban dwellers contribute to *harambees* in their "rural homes," i.e. the communities where their families live or come from.[309] For the most part, rural projects consist of physical structures and infrastructure: schools, churches, health centers and hospitals; farm work, like terracing, clearing land and planting; farm equipment, cattle dips, agricultural buying and processing centers; dams, roads, and ditches for water pipes.[310] Besides the material projects, *harambee* has inspired organizations like "credit societies, house building and buying cooperatives, land purchase groups, agricultural producers' cooperatives, arts and crafts societies, and consumer cooperatives."[311]

In *harambee*'s early years, "thousands of projects sprung [*sic*] up all over the country," driven by enthusiasm and a spirit of healthy competition among villages. However, by the end of the 1960s it had become clear that such unregulated spontaneity was resulting in "considerable duplication of projects such as two health centers constructed within immediate vicinity of one another."[312] One consequence of this was the inability of the central government to match all projects with funds, equipment, or personnel. Many projects were abandoned for lack of planning, squabbles among local political backers, and misappropriation of funds or materials. Without wanting to quell the citizens' embrace of *harambee*, it became necessary for the government to insert a degree of planning and regulation, a move dubbed "participatory centralism."[313] At the same time, though, government funding did not improve but rather continued to decrease. By the late 1980s, this political reality, in combination with the NPA and IMF/World Bank reforms, "defined the context for the adoption of 'participation' - in which [in NGO terms as well as *harambee* policy] local people assume responsibility for developing their community - as the modality for development."[314]

By this time, *harambee* as "an instrument of both politics and economics" had become

[308] Campbell, 253
[309] Orora and Spiegel, 251-252
[310] Mutiso-Mbinda, 287; Orora and Spiegel, 244-246
[311] Orora and Spiegel, 252
[312] Ibid., 250
[313] Ibid., 245; see also 250-251.
[314] Campbell, 253

"an integral part of Kenya's political life."[315] Like Kenyatta, president Moi stressed the importance of *harambee* for Kenya's present and future prosperity. However, the idea shifted over the course of his twenty-four years in office, as Moi's grip on the movements of both government and civil society tightened. *Harambee* was expanded "to identify not only small-scale, local… projects, but also efforts orchestrated by the center to support nationwide development objectives, such as a national, technical university."[316] *Harambee* was also used increasingly by KANU (Moi's party) as a tool to ensure party loyalty at local levels, in addition to dispensing patronage and to pandering votes at election time.[317]

Moi's appropriation of *harambee* for political purposes, his increased surveillance and control of civil society groups, and the decreasing availability of government funding (but increasing availability of funds via INGOs), intensified the patrimonialism and clientelism that had until then been present in *harambee* dynamics but soon became formative of them. Barkan and Holmquist attribute the success of the clientelist political system in Kenya directly to the system and philosophy of *harambee*, writing that "…the Harambee ideology, or belief in self-help, has become the core of an emergent public philosophy, a set of widely held values that has shaped the rules of Kenya's clientelist political system, imbued that system with a measure of legitimacy, and forced the Kenyan state to be minimally accountable to the public in the realm of social services."[318] They describe self-help projects as having become "the essence of grass-roots politics in Kenya; the principal activity by means of which political leaders and aspiring leaders seek to obtain power and to advance their personal careers."[319] By "delivering the goods" for self-help projects, aspiring politicians "draw local self-help organizations and grass-roots political leaders into their personal political machines, and, in turn, attach their machines to the country-wide clientelist structures that dominate Kenyan politics and control patronage at the center of the

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[315] Thomas, Barbara P. "State Formation, Development, and The Politics of Self-Help in Kenya." *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol.23, Issue 3, September 1988, 3-27. p.4

[316] Ibid., 4

[317] Ibid., 9; Campbell, 253.
One of my sources also described how in the Moi days and even under Kibaki for a time, extra "donations" (i.e. unofficial fees) were collected at various government offices and described by the employees as "harambee." Whether the term was used cynically, I don't know, though it is entirely possible that many of these civil servants used such means to meet the expectations of their large, urban wages' contributions to projects at their rural homes.

[318] Barkan, Joel D. and Frank Holmquist. "Peasant-State Relations and the Social Base of Self-Help in Kenya." *World Politics* Vol. 41, No. 3, April 1989, 359-380. p.361

[319] Ibid., 359

Kenyan system."[320] Similarly, Thomas describes the network of elites at various levels of government and how, within this complex of privilege and payment, *harambee* projects are "the political 'currency' bringing public goods to the community in return for political support; status and prestige to those who help initiate projects and assure their completion."[321]

While rural Kenyans have learned to manipulate this reality to their own benefit, exerting a degree of political pressure themselves, the imbalance of benefits remains in favour of local and national elites. For one, the self-help approach to local development has allowed and continues to allow the national government to focus on the urban and wealthy centres (e.g. Kenya's Vision 2030, and its focus, so far, on flagship projects like high-tech railways, super highways, and ring roads for the capital and central area), leaving remote rural development to its own means. This, secondly, both legitimizes and exacerbates economic disparity endemic to independent Kenya. Thomas writes, "the rhetoric of *Harambee* stresses cooperative effort for the benefit of all. The reality of *Harambee* underscores a system in which some communities, some groups, and some national-level elites benefit far more than others."[322]

The politics of *harambee* reveal that, in contrast to analysis of the privatization of development as a multilaterally mandated and recent shift away from state control, in most ways development in Kenya has been privatized since the start. Only nominally state-run, development via *harambee* has long been the *de facto* responsibility of civil society. For INGOs welcomed to Kenya to fill in gaps where the state has failed and seeking to work with community organizations, the entanglement of SHGs with *harambee* and its associated issues of neo-patrimonialism, clientelism, and corruption presents a rocky ethical path. Desiring to access and leverage existent local strategies and support community-driven development projects, INGOs risk complicity in the detrimental patterns of power and manipulation that are often the shadow side of the self-help and community-based organizations with which grassroots-oriented INGOs can most effectively connect.

To an extent this type of issue is addressed by, for example, the civic rights and empowerment education that is offered by ADS and supported by World Renew (see chapter six), but even these can be appropriated for political ends in invisible and seemingly innocuous ways. For example, in 2012, Mount Kenya ADS Community Development Coordinator for Kairi area,

[320] Ibid., 359-360
[321] Thomas, 12. See also Orora and Spiegel, 251
[322] Thomas, 23; see also pp.14, 20

Peter Macharia, while not neglecting his work duties, was also running for a local political position. Spending a work day with him and his immaculate, brightly-coloured dress shirts and authoritative demeanor, one got the sense that check-ins at trainings and projects doubled as campaign stops. That said, he was also a very well-recognized and evidently well-liked member of the community, educated and experienced in project knowledge and skills, and so an entirely appropriate staff choice for ADS. In this sort of way, local political manoeuverings embedded in the self-help system can be quite unseen but still influential, and INGOs can become unwittingly entangled with such schema as political leverage is achieved through apparent access to community building funds.

iv. Lifeworld Reflections

It should be noted, finally, that the communities with whom ADS works, that is, the SHGs and Community Based Organizations themselves, are far from naïve about the political realities of their everyday. Rather, farming in degraded conditions, lack of civil and public services, the assumption of corruption (or of corruptability), and political quietism, in addition to correlations of wealth with authority, gender disparities, and dependency on aid, are components of their *habitus*, each often glossed in its own way as "tradition": ahistorical and irrevocable. In chapter six I address the impact of this for ADS and, in turn, for World Renew. This impact is then employed in my concluding analysis, in particular the discussion of World Renew's interpretation of CRC vision and demands as it devises appropriate strategy for within the Kenyan NGO and development context.

This summary of Kenya's political economy is intended to demonstrate the complexity of the environment in which communities and ADS seek to thrive, and within which World Renew seeks to help cultivate constructive elements while doing the least possible to facilitate the destructive. It is further intended to shed a light on the critical necessity for specificity in conversations and policy on "Africa," especially at the level of major institutions and attendant research, publication, strategy, and policy, and also when it comes to developing an educated Western citizenry, attentive to and considerate of the contextual sources and meanings of the poverty that they wish to see addressed.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

Introduction

This chapter provides context for understanding the lifeworld and worldviews of Christian Reformed Church (CRC) communities in Canada, especially those of Alberta. Following a history of the immigration of Dutch nationals to Canada after the second World War, I turn to the religious contexts from which those immigrants came and into which they arrived. The clash and synthesis of the Christian Reformed worldviews held by new immigrants and by those Dutch who had arrived in earlier decades resulted in the version of CRC that exists now in North America and Western Canada, and the emergence and shape of World Renew as a CRC institution. This chapter examines especially closely the religio-cultural context in Holland from within which post-WWII Dutch emigrants emerged, and the influential theological convictions that they took with them. These doctrines continue to strongly reflect worldviews held by CRC members in Alberta today, and the ways and areas in which constituents utilize these ideas is the focus of chapter four. These convictions and the lifeworld from which they emerge have been of crucial import for the expectations and requirements of World Renew throughout its history.

I. Dutch Emigration to Canada After World War Two

As Europe lay in rubble at the end of World War II, an uncertain economic and political future led to record levels of emigration from Western Europe, including the Netherlands. Until the 1940s, only about 35,000 Dutch had emigrated to Canada in total.[323] During the post-war emigration period, however, Canada received more Dutch immigrants than did any other receiving country.[324] 1947 through 1957 was the peak period of Dutch emigration overall, as well as of Dutch immigration to Canada. The total number of emigrants from Holland during this

[323] Kits, Harry J. World Views and Social Involvement: A Proposal for Classification of Canadian Neo-Calvinist Social Involvement, 1945-1980. M.A. Thesis for the Department of Philosophy. Toronto, ON: Institute for Christian Studies, 1988. 35

[324] Fallon, Michael Dennis. People of the Covenant: Dutch Reformed Immigration into Canada After World War II. PhD Thesis for the Department of History. Guelph, ON: University of Guelph, 2000. 136

decade was 306,808 people, an average of 28,000 per year.[325] Of this total, about 40.5 percent went to Canada.[326]

Immigration to Canada decreased in following years as European economies stabilized, but a steady influx from Holland nonetheless continued over the next approximately twenty years. Between 1956 and 1976, 51.6 percent of emigrants from Holland came to Canada.[327] In Alberta, the number of people of Dutch origin more than doubled between 1941 and 1961, to 55,530, which included 23,000 new immigrants.[328] As of 2013, 1.1 million Canadians claimed some Dutch origin: approximately one third of these claiming full Dutch background.[329] In Alberta in 2013, 172,910 people claimed to have some or total Dutch ethnic heritage.[330]

The people who left Holland in these post-war decades were a heterogeneous group in terms of religion, language, and politics, as well as occupation, family size, class, wealth, and reason for choosing Canada as their destination. Unlike today, proving wealth or assets was not a requirement to come to Canada. In fact, for the most part immigrants arrived with very little, relying on government programs and community organizations for help upon arrival, and often receiving financial assistance from the Dutch government to be able to afford the cost of sailing to Canada. For the most part (a part confirmed almost unanimously by my interviewees) emigrants left Holland for a "better opportunity" in the face of, especially, the combination of a population boom and a ruined economy at the end of the second world war.

"Between 1840 and 1950 the Dutch population [in Holland] multiplied more than two and a half times," a level that was "high even by Western European standards" and that contributed to

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[325] Kits, 35

[326] Zwart, David. "For the Next Generation: Dutch Protestant church commemorations in North America, 1960-1980." *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedens*, Vol.7, No.2, 2010, 126-150. 226
Kits gives 1946-58 figures as 150,000 Dutch immigrants to Canada, equalling roughly 38% of the total Dutch emigration. (5)
See also, Palmer, Howard, and Tamara Palmer. "The Religious Ethic and the Spirit of Immigration: The Dutch in Alberta." *Prairie Forum*, Vol.7, No.2, 1982, 237-265. The Palmers write that of the 250,000 Dutch who emigrated between 1945 and 1956, 42% came to Canada. (255)

[327] Zwart 2010, 282. The rest were divided largely among Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa.

[328] Palmer and Palmer, 253

[329] The Canadian Press (no author). "Young, suburban, and mostly Asian: Canada's immigrant population surges." *National Post online*, May 8, 2013. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/05/08/young-suburban-and-mostly-asian-canadas-immigrant-population-surges/> [Accessed 13 March 2014]

[330] Statistics Canada: Ethnic Origins, 2006 counts, for Canada, provinces and territories – 20% sample data. <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/develop-pd/hlt/97-562/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Table=2&Data=Count&StartRec=1&Sort=3&Display=All> [Accessed 20 March 2014]

what is described as Holland's "perennial problem of over-population."[331] "From 1939 to 1949 alone, the Dutch population increased by 13.5 percent," an increase of almost half a million people during the German occupation, due to a high birth rate and low infant mortality rate, and in spite of the fact that a quarter of a million Dutch lost their lives during the war.[332]

This long-term population increase, spiking with the war, exacerbated economic problems created by the war. For one, the physical undergirding of Holland and its economy was decimated: "In the cities a large number of factories and houses had been either destroyed or stripped bare," with only "obsolete or nonfunctioning" industrial and transportation works left behind. "In the tradition of retreating armies," continues Fallon's description, "the departing Germans had pilfered everything imaginable. Most of the livestock had been confiscated or slaughtered for food. Vehicles, food, machinery, even factories were dismantled, loaded on rail cars and shipped eastward." "Four percent of the residences in the Netherlands had been demolished" – more than in any other West European country besides Germany – or pillaged to the point that everything removable was taken, "right down to the tiles and doorknobs."[333] The combined domestic and industrial destruction resulted in an epidemic of homelessness and unemployment in Holland's cities immediately at war's end.[334]

Rural unemployment, too, was rampant, since ten percent of arable land had been flooded by sea water – dikes destroyed by the Germans to slow the Allied advance, and by the Allies to flush out the entrenched Germans. After the dikes were repaired, it would take five years to extract the salt from the land. Farmland that was not flooded had been neglected for five years. It had to be recultivated, and diminished soil fertility raised back up again. These factors, "along with the remaining cultivated land being placed under a terrible strain to produce," meant that "the surplus agricultural labour force swelled."[335] In 1953, a final emigration push for rural inhabitants arrived in the form of a disastrous flood that killed 2,000 people, resubmerged much

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[331] Gerrits, G.H. They Farmed Well: The Dutch-Canadian Agricultural Community in Nova Scotia, 1945-1995. Kentville, Nova Scotia: Vinland Press, 1996. p.12.
See also Palmer and Palmer, 253

[332] Gerrits, 12; Fallon, 130; Palmer and Palmer, 253

[333] Fallon, 128-129

[334] The Netherlands Information Bureau in 1945 estimated that 800,000 people out of a nine million person population (that is, 8.8% of the total population, but concentrated largely in towns and cities) were living with friends and relatives, "crowding into their homes with them, sharing their blankets, their furniture, their cooking utensils" and their already scarce resources. Fallon, 129.

[335] Fallon, 129; Gerrits, 12; Palmer and Palmer, 253-254

of Holland's agricultural land, and again forced a large number of people to leave their homes.[336]

Further slowing the process of recovery was the fact that, immediately following the war with Germany, Holland had leapt into another five year war in Indonesia, where it tried (and failed) to regain its colonial grip on that country. Not only was the Indonesian war itself another drain on resources, but loss of the war meant losing Indonesia as a source of materials for domestic rebuilding. Further, the end of the war in Indonesia saw 27,000 Dutch soldiers and 120,000 ex-patriates returning to Holland, to add to the unemployment and homelessness.[337]

A major part of Holland's efforts to regain its pre-war standard of living was the export of hundreds of thousands of its citizens as immigrants around the world. Because the population boom was especially concentrated in rural areas, adding to unemployment difficulties caused by the inflexible timeline for agricultural recuperation, the Dutch government prioritized the emigration of its rural population. This fit well with Canada's desire to increase its own population of agricultural labourers.

Under the auspices of the Netherlands Farm Families' Movement, also known as the Netherlands-Canada Settlement Scheme, "the first Dutch farm settlers in the [post-WWII] wave of immigration began arriving in Canada in June of 1947."[338] From 1947 to 1955, an average of eighty percent of Dutch immigrants to Canada were part of the farm family movement. Given Holland's goal of seeing the departure of 10,000 farm families every year, and that it was not until 1951 that Canadian immigration law changed to increase the permitted numbers of trades and business people with professional and technical backgrounds, this proportion is unsurprising. In 1949, the peak year of Dutch immigration to Canada, eighty-seven percent of Dutch immigrants were involved in agriculture.[339]

The level and type of this "involvement" varied. Some immigrants were established farmers whose land had been destroyed in the war, but many were rural labourers whose opportunities in Holland were dwindling. Farmers' sons, for example, "who were not able to establish themselves on the land, were encouraged to leave,"[340] as were casual labourers and others who had little chance of becoming independent in the post-war economy. Thus Dutch immigrants from the forties to fifties were predominantly drawn from "the lower middle classes,

[336] Gerrits, 19; Palmer and Palmer, 255
[337] Fallon, 130-132; Gerrits, 13
[338] Palmer and Palmer, 255
[339] Ibid., 255; Fallon, 156
[340] Palmer and Palmer, 254

class of small farmers, and the working classes."[341] Their "average educational attainment was generally limited to grade six to eight. Most came in family groups under the auspices of a church organization, and many were sponsored by relatives who had arrived earlier. All had a strong desire to become independent as soon as possible."[342] It should be noted that the large sizes of agrarian and rural families also contributed to the high numbers of Dutch immigrants. In 1952-53, for example, "dependent children made up forty percent of all Dutch immigrants," compared with 24.5 percent of other groups.[343]

The focus on farm families would have the inadvertent effect of creating a disproportionate ratio of Reformed church members in the Dutch emigrant population. Over the thirty year span from 1946 to 1976, 41.2 percent of all Dutch immigrants to Canada were Reformed Calvinists, which is "a high ratio compared to their average 9.6 percent of the total Dutch population" in Holland during those same years. The ratio of Reformed Calvinists within the population of Dutch immigrants to Canada, in other words, was more than four times their proportion in the Dutch population in Holland.[344] This high representation has been linked to teachings regarding the purpose of marriage and the biblicality of birth control.[345] The Dutch Reformed and Catholics, particularly in the less-educated and less-prosperous lower and agricultural classes, "had the highest birthrate in the country, and that was to determine the nature of Dutch emigration following World War Two to a very large degree."[346]

In addition to a general decrease in national morale following the Occupation, and the influence of the population spike and unemployment, were political factors. Many feared a renewal of conflict in Europe as the Cold War period began, and also were displeased with the way that the Dutch government had begun to bureaucratize social life as part of its recovery measures. Following the war, a new socialist government was elected to manage the reconstruction. Many people found the degree of regulation of public life – and the taxes – stifling, and felt that their chances of rebuilding their own prosperity through entrepreneurship and initiative were lowered. Many Reformed, in particular, because of their view of the

[341] Gerrits, 23
[342] Palmer and Palmer, 256
[343] Gerrits, 20
[344] Zwart 2010, 229. See also Fallon, 144; Gerrits, 21
[345] Fallon, 156
[346] Gerrits, 12

appropriate sphere of state governance, were unhappy with the new practices.[347] In Alberta, this latter issue was raised repeatedly by my older interviewees, many of whom were themselves immigrants. They described it as "red tape" and "government interference," that "wouldn't even let you run a business if you hadn't had one already before the war."

Other links with Canada were also auspicious factors. Canada and Holland had forged a special relationship over the course of the war. When Ottawa sheltered the Dutch princess and her children during the Occupation, she gave birth to a third daughter, for which occasion part of Ottawa was made Dutch territory so that the child would be born on Dutch soil. More significantly, most of Holland had been liberated by Canadian soldiers, which act and images cemented Canada in Dutch hearts. Some of Canada's earliest war-related Dutch immigrants were the nearly 2,000 war brides that accompanied their soldiers home, creating romantic and familial ties between the two nations. A further draw on the personal level was the presence of friends and family who had already moved to Canada before the war and established communities – especially the Reformed – and who wrote letters encouraging people to come.[348]

II. Dutch Settlement in Alberta

As noted, 40.5 percent of Holland's emigrants in the first ten years, and 51.6 percent between 1956 and 1976, chose Canada as their new home. Part of Canada's appeal was that the preference was mutual. With the end of the war, Canadian agricultural and resource development and extraction industries lost labourers, especially field and orchard workers, when prisoners of war were released to their home countries. As these industries observed this impending labour shortage, they pressed the government to respond, which it did via the immigration policy for agricultural workers introduced in 1947. Canada's Immigration Department held the opinion that the Dutch were overall skilled farmers, whose expertise would benefit the Canadian agricultural economy, and who were likely to remain on the land to farm long term. For the Dutch and for the majority of the Dutch Reformed within that population, "Canada's need for agricultural labourers was the most important draw."[349] The Dutch were, further, beneficiaries of Canada's still racialized immigration policy, which favoured "Nordic" people because they were thought to assimilate more quickly and to be more in tune, already, with Canada's socio-political culture. The "Netherlands Farm Families Movement," mentioned above, opened the doors for a huge

[347] Fallon, 135; Gerrits, 12-13; Palmer and Palmer, 254
[348] Fallon, 137; Gerrits, 14-15
[349] Fallon, 138

early wave of Dutch agricultural worker immigrants. These were sought out by the Dutch agricultural attaché, who worked vigorously at recruiting Dutch farmers to Canada.[350]

While the Dutch government bolstered its encouragement with subsidies for boat trips to Canada,[351] preparations made on the receiving end most strongly influenced the success of any one resettlement. At the core of such preparations were church-based immigration committees. All churches, the Catholic, Reformed, Presbyterian, United, and Baptist among the largest denominations, established such committees and sent what were known as "fieldmen" to greet the ships and trains that bore immigrants to their locales. While the Catholics fairly exclusively attracted people who were already Catholic, the rest of the denominations were on the offensive, as they observed each others' efforts to "steal" members from other denominations, "fooling" hapless foreigners into attending the "wrong" church out of gratitude and obligation for the help it provided in settling in.

The Christian Reformed Church had an especially urgent interest in reaching Dutch immigrants of Christian Reformed persuasion. Besides the fact that the Presbyterian church was directly competing with them, continuation of the Christian Reformed life necessitated maintaining their community (and bringing in new blood) and they also believed that the spiritual interests and cultural worldviews of the immigrating Christian Reformed belonged in their pews, from whence they would contribute to achieving the CRC's purpose in North America. To this end, the CRC used its connections with CRCs in Holland to pre-establish networks and channels by which families could be securely shuttled from a Dutch CRC into the waiting pews of a Canadian one. It also hired fieldmen to distribute arrivals among CRC communities and ensure they were settled in, with a house, employment, and a church. From the USA the CRC even provided "home missionaries" to redress the shortage of established churches and ministers for the number of Reformed arrivals to Canada.

Since Reformed church members comprised about forty percent of the total Dutch immigrants, this was no small undertaking. The CRCNA (Christian Reformed Church of North America) deployed considerable funds, time, and manpower during the peak years of

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[350] Ibid., 138-140
See also, Hiemstra, John L. "Calvinist Pluriformity Challenged Liberal Assimilation: A Novel Case for Publicly Funding Alberta's Private Schools, 1953-1967." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol.39, No.3, Fall 2005, 146-172. p.155; Gerrits, 15-16; Palmer and Palmer, 255

[351] "Approximately eighty-five percent of those who left were assisted by the Dutch government, which even acquired three ships and chartered other ships and aircraft to facilitate the flow of people." Palmer and Palmer, 254

immigration to ensure that as many Reformeds as possible were matched with Reformed communities in Canada. During the war, the CRCNA had also been sending aid to Dutch Reformed churches, and so in some ways this post-war work was seen as a continuation of that aid. In partnership with the Canadian Immigration Department, rural Canadian congregations grew especially quickly.[352]

Before the post-war migration, fifteen Christian Reformed Churches had been established in Canada: five in Ontario (with only four ministers), one in Manitoba, three in British Columbia, and six in Alberta. With a total of about five hundred families, or 2500 members, these Canadian churches equalled about two percent of the total CRCNA membership in 1945.[353] By 1950, Canadian congregations grew to comprise fifteen percent of the CRCNA, twenty five percent by 1961, and by 1998 close to one third of the total North American membership.[354] In 2016, Canadian CRCs made up twenty-nine percent of the CRCNA membership count.[355]

The settlement of Dutch immigrants in Canada followed the pattern mapped by earlier Dutch settlement (which in turn affected the locations of CRCs), a pattern of dispersal rather than concentration. Harold and Tamara Palmer, in their ethnography of rural Dutch settlement in Alberta, suggest that the wide dispersal of pre-World War II Dutch settlement in Alberta – "from the short-grass prairie of South-Eastern Alberta, through the mixed-grass prairie and aspen parkland [Central] to the fringes of the boreal cordilleran forest [North]"[356] – is related to the nature of the Dutch culture, which differs from that of other immigrant groups who have tended, by and large, to concentrate in one region.

For the most part, upon landing in Canada, rather than stick together in language and tradition-based geographical hubs the Dutch tended to scatter. The majority of Dutch Canadians of the first and second generations "never joined ethnic clubs, credit unions founded by Dutch

[352] Gerrits, 14, 17, 21; Fallon, 24, 183-184, 189, 195, 203-04; Palmer and Palmer, 256-7, 263; Zwart 2010, 230-31
Even the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railroad), which was already a great influence on the settling of Canada's west and with a vested interest in the settlement of less populated areas, got in on the action. It composed advertising strategies aimed specifically at Dutch farmers, and collaborated with irrigation boards and church committees, for example in southern Alberta, to steer farmers toward new areas.

[353] Fallon, 186, 189. Zwart 2010, 230, says twelve Canadian churches, and Kits, 36, says fourteen, but neither of these include the distribution. In any case, there were few, and fairly scattered.

[354] Fallon, 202-203; Kits, 36

[355] Calculated with reference to Christian Reformed Church Yearbook 2016: "Classical statistics by classis – 2016," provided at <https://www.crcna.org/sites/default/files/classical_statistics_by_classis_2016.pdf> [Accessed 11 March 2016]

[356] Palmer and Palmer, 238

immigrants, *de facto* Dutch-Canadian parishes, or Reformed denominations." [357] Those communities that did come together, like the Reformed, did so for religious and political, rather than quote-unquote "ethnic," reasons – at least not in the way that "ethnic" tends to be identified in Canadian society (i.e. by customs of food, dress, language, etc.). This is evidenced by the effort that most Dutch immigrants, pre- and post-war, put into assimilating as quickly as possible, learning English and participating in the local community in a decidedly non-enclave fashion.

Like the post-war settlers, the earliest Dutch arrivals in Alberta, at the turn of the century, had come in search of better opportunities (again, land and farms), and were also welcomed by Canada as "ideal" immigrants for similar reasons as the newer arrivals. The dispersion of the earliest Dutch settlers had to do with land and climate, and their ability to cope with challenges presented by these, especially such climatic hardships as drought. Those who could not cope in the arid south migrated various distances north, adjusting and adopting farming techniques according to conditions they met.[358]

By the time of the post-war arrivals, successful Dutch communities were widespread, and it is to these areas that the immigrants were distributed by the government, with the help of church committees and fieldmen. Around fifty percent of Dutch immigrants went to Ontario, where Canada's largest Dutch community, including many Reformed, grew both for its proximity to the CRC denomination concentration in Michigan, and for the agricultural climate. About 20,000 immigrants, or fifteen percent of the post-War total, chose Alberta.[359]

In Alberta, people moved to places that had one, or some combination, of the appeal of available farm land, an established CRC community, or an active fieldman. Most of the communities had all three. Older, rural settlements in the southern, Lethbridge area such as Vauxhall, Iron Springs, Taber, Granum, Nobleford; and in central and northern Alberta, like Sundre, Lacombe, Rocky Mountain House, Red Deer, Neerlandia, Grande Prairie, and others, were the major areas of settlement for new arrivals. Some settlements, like Lacombe, "more than doubled" in Dutch population, while others, like Red Deer and Rocky Mountain House, only began at this time to have a noticeable Dutch population. The remarkable growth of these latter

[357] Schryer, Frans J. The Netherlandic Presence in Ontario: Pillars, Class and Dutch Ethnicity. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1998. p.313
[358] Palmer and Palmer, 244ff
[359] Palmer and Palmer, 255

three was due to the work of a single CRC fieldman in the area.[360] This type of strong effort by CRC communities in North America, and the tendency for Dutch Reformed adherents to want to migrate toward their theological kin, meant that the CRC – especially the CRC in Canada, and especially the particular Dutch brand of neo-Calvinist Reformed that had emerged in Holland in the past few decades – experienced rapid and immense growth.

In urban increase, "Edmonton attracted the largest number of post-war Dutch: by 1961 there were 6,739 post-war Dutch immigrants in that city compared to 4,621 in Calgary and 848 in Lethbridge."[361] In addition to shifts in immigration policy that allowed urban-suited trades and business people into Canada, to a degree the higher concentration in Edmonton can be linked, as with the rural arrivals, to the presence of a small established CRC community there which helped newcomers find jobs and homes, as well as immigration sponsorships.

These expanding Canadian communities soon began to stand out, despite their best assimilable qualities and efforts. While in Canada religion is considered a private matter, in the Netherlands at the time it was very much public. John Hiemstra writes, "The assumption that religion was private and that Canada was primarily a linguistic and ethnocultural mosaic ironically led mainstream Canada initially to favour Dutch citizens as ideal immigrants because they were believed to be an ethnic group that was easy to assimilate."[362] For the Reformed immigrants, however, religion, rather than language, dress, or other assumed cultural practices, was "their main expression of cultural identity. They brought with them a Dutch concept of the central role religion should play in life; their attempt to create a Christian society must, they believed, be reflected in all social institutions, including schools, trade unions, political parties, and communications media."[363]

One very visible such institution has been private Christian schools, which began in Alberta as a Reformed alternative to the public and Catholic school systems, both government funded. "The neo-Calvinists turned down free public education in favour of starting Christian schools in several communities across Alberta, including Lacombe in 1945, Edmonton in 1949,

[360] Ibid., 256-57
[361] Ibid., 257-258.
See also VanBelle, Harry A. "The History of the Reformed Dutch in Edmonton." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Psychology, The King's University College, Edmonton, AB. 1994. < https://www.kingsu.ca/public/download/documents/2004>
[362] Hiemstra, 155
[363] Palmer and Palmer, 259-60

Lethbridge in 1962, Calgary in 1963, and Red Deer in 1968."[364] Though there were only three Christian day schools in Canada before 1945, between 1950 and 2000 the Dutch Reformed immigrant community in Canada "established four independent educational systems with over one hundred elementary and secondary schools, augmented by undergraduate and graduate institutions. They have [also] founded health care facilities, newspapers, a farmers' association, a businessman's organization, a labour union, and... a federal political party."[365]

Not only did it turn out that these newcomers held ideas that challenged the "prevailing liberal and secular thinking"[366] of mainstream Canadian society, it was soon discovered that they also held ideas in opposition to those of the established CRC that had welcomed them to their new country.

III. Re-formed in North America: The Meeting of Two Histories in the Growth of the Canadian CRC

This section focuses on two strands of the history of the Christian Reformed denomination. First, the social and religious situations and ideals that led the early wave of Christian Reformed emigrants to leave Holland and settle in the United States. Second, how the nature of the Christian Reformed Church in Holland changed in the years between this early wave and the later post-war era of emigration, social and religious factors that helped motivate people to leave Holland and settle in Canada.

These separate strands constitute two contemporaneous religious-historical timelines, developed from the 1880s on separate continents but under the same denominational title. Post-WWII migration provoked a re-engagement, or confluence, of these timelines, out of which emerged the CRCNA of today: conflicted, paradoxical, and united – a twenty-first century version of what the CRC has always been.

i. The "Second Wave" and the CRC: 1830s to 1920s

Although the very earliest Dutch arrivals in North America came in the sixteenth century, bringing a type of Dutch Pietism with them that eventually merged with British Protestantisms in America,[367] for my purposes it is sufficient to focus on what historians refer to as the "second wave" (out of three) of Dutch immigration to North America, the period between 1846 and the

[364] Hiemstra, 157
[365] Fallon, 2
[366] Hiemstra, 155
[367] van Lieburg, Fred. "Pietism Beyond Patria: A Dutch Religious Heritage in North America." *European Contributions to American Studies*, Vol.64, April 2006, 43-54. p.44

onset of the first World War. The roots of this wave, especially for the Christian Reformed population within it, were religious, political, and economic, and in America created a new Christian Reformed context into which arrived the third wave, post-World War II, immigrants from Holland. This second wave is often attributed to the dramatic 1834 schism in Holland's National Reformed Church, called the *Afscheiding*, or the Secession; however, the "wave" developed out of a combination of multiple socio-economic factors.

Until 2004, Holland's official church was the Reformed Church, also called the state church, the National Church, the Dutch Reformed Church and, in Dutch, the *hervormde kerk* (or *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*). James Bratt notes "a long line of dissent within the Dutch Reformed Church."[368] From the seventeenth century until the 1830s, however, such dissent had been dealt with through the formation of conventicles, or private home meetings, where those who sought more or different than that offered by the state church could gather to meet that need.[369]

In the 1830s many of those who created and populated these conventicles considered themselves revivers of the true Christian spirit, united by their pietist beliefs with the Europe-wide revivalist movement of the time. These conventicle pietists sought a "return to what they saw as the central messages of the Gospel, those of sin, repentance, and salvation" as against the state church's "formal, institutional religion that deviated from the religion of the Bible."[370] As a Protestant movement, Dutch Reformed pietism emphasized "personal experience (*bevinding*) of grace and… the individual path of conversion." As pietists they held a negative view of the mingling of society with Christianity and believed in "a supernatural world in which divine providence is manifest in daily deliverances and punishments."[371] The pietist revitalization of Christianity

> …entailed, first, a focus upon such themes as human inability and worthlessness and on Christ's death as the only source of salvation; but more it entailed the vital, personal realization of such doctrines through heartfelt experience. The converted were then obliged to maintain ongoing intimacy with God through rigorous

[368] Bratt, James D. Dutch Calvinism in Modern America: A History of a Conservative Subculture. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984. p.3

[369] Ibid., 3.
See also VanBelle, Harry A. "Vision and Revision: Neo-Calvinism in the Netherlands and Canada" in Gerard Dekker, Donald A. Luidens and Rodger R. Rice (eds). Rethinking Secularization: Reformed Reactions to Modernity. Lanham, Maryland; Oxford, UK: University Press of America, Inc., 1997. 81-92. p.82

[370] VanBelle 1997, 82

[371] van Lieburg, 45

introspection and daily 'spiritual exercises'... .[372]

Besides these, "the Dutch exhibited two other pietist traits: internal diversity (with different conventicles following the emphases of different leaders) and puritanical strictures regarding popular mores."[373] At the same time, Dutch pietism diverged from stereotypical European pietism in that it "allied itself with the Orthodox theology of the Established Church that pietists elsewhere so often regarded as their chief enemy."[374] For Dutch Reformed pietists this was the state *hervormde kerk*, which they viewed as having distorted orthodoxy.

The political climate of the Netherlands, like most of Europe, was affected strongly by the Enlightenment ideas of the French Revolution. Of particular irritation for many Reformed adherents was the secularization of the state, and especially the 1816 bureaucratization of the National Church into a state department.[375] This new structure gave the government "the right to appoint the members of the synod and other governing bodies in the church. This enabled the king to ensure that the church" would serve state purposes, which at the time were becoming increasingly aligned with Enlightenment liberalism and humanism, and which in the rest of government entailed a rejection of religion and a push toward secularization. Coupled with the noticeable increase of Dutch elites and wealthy into church governance and attendance, this liberalization and "secularization" of the church proved too much for many of the faithful. In particular the poor, uneducated, rural agricultural and labouring classes – members of the social class called the *kleine luyden*, literally "little people," viz. the commoners, those citizens with scarce political, economic, or social clout[376] – felt increasingly disenfranchised within their church.[377] Thus, under the influence of these Enlightenment Reforms, in the early nineteenth century the *hervormde kerk* began to split into liberalizing and "orthodox" factions, with disillusioned congregants as well as theologians and ministers turning to conventicles for support and meaningful spiritual sustenance.[378]

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[372] Bratt, 3-4
[373] Ibid., 4
[374] Ibid., 4
[375] Ibid., 5
[376] McGoldrick, James Edward. "Claiming Every Inch: The Worldview of Abraham Kuyper" in Steve Bishop and John H. Kok (eds). On Kuyper: A Collection of Readings on the Life, Work & Legacy of Abraham Kuyper. Sioux Center, Iowa: Dordt College Press, 2013. 97-106. p.98
See also VanBelle 1997, 83
[377] Groenewold, Harry J. "The Christian Reformed Tradition in Canada" in Robert E. VanderVennen (ed). Church and Canadian Culture. Lanham; NY: University Press of America, 1992. 177-191. p.178
[378] Bratt, 4-6

This sense of alienation and rejection took hold on two frontiers. On one side there was what Bratt dubs the "Aristocratic Alienation," the *Reveil*. This "elite phase" of the evangelical arrival was begun by William Bilderdijk (1756-1831) but its most well-known spokesmen were Groen van Prinsterer and Isaac da Costa, two of Bilderdijk's foremost protégés. Utilizing the strategy of "elite conventiclism," van Prinsterer and da Costa led home gatherings of the elite, with teachings stressing the "salvation triad" of "man's corruption, Christ's exclusive atonement, and experiential conversion."[379]

The *Reveil* in particular emphasized the aspect of man's corruption, defining "revolution" as a defiance of God. The Enlightenment was condemned as the "real 'Revolution'," the outcome of spiritual disease that had erupted in France in 1789. It substituted "reason for revelation as the source of truth" and traded "human desire for divine law as the standard of ethics." These were not considered "badly mistaken but genuine efforts to find truth and right; rather, they were deliberate, malicious attempts to defy God and cast mankind into the deepest misery. [...] In Groen van Prinsterer's slogan, 'unbelief' produced 'revolution.'"[380]

In response to revolution, van Prinsterer

> called Christians to develop a position of systematic antithesis toward all spirits and structures in the world that were not in submission to God's Word. There could be no common ground between God and anti-Christ. History itself reveals an endless conflict between good and evil, between the City of God and the City of Man. Implementing the antithesis required the creation of Christian organizations for all areas – politics, labour, journalism, education, social clubs, economic structures, etc.[381]

In his eyes, antithesis embodied "the spirit of Christian love and the social ordinances implicit in divine law."[382]

The second frontier of alienation from the developments of the state church was a popular movement, which came to be known as the *Afscheiding*, or Secession. As church structure and governance came to increasingly represent the worldview and interests of liberal social elites, quiet popular protest was at first expressed in conventicles. Over time, however, the customary co-existence of home conventicle church and institutional church began to break down. As conventicles increased in size, conviction, and disaffection, teachings began to seep from the

[379] Ibid., 11
[380] Ibid., 11-12
[381] Groenewold, 179
[382] Bratt, 12

conventicles and into the main church's sermons. In 1830, pastor Hendrik de Cock, for declaring the clerics of the *hervormde kerk*, "wolves in the sheepfold of Christ," was suspended from duty in his parish. However, "his congregation refused to accept the demotion and 'seceded' from the National Church to 'return' to the 'true church'."[383] Several other ministers joined de Cock, with two congregations seceding in the year 1834. Though 1834 is the year the *Afscheiding* / Secession is said to have "happened," it was in reality a process that peaked for a duration of about two years, rather than a single event. Between 1834 and 1836 over 120 churches joined the Secession, with still more in following years.[384] The Secessionists named their new denomination the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* (CGK), that is, the Christian Reformed Church.[385]

The Secession "was no mere ecclesiastical quirk. Rather, it constituted a forthright protest by the lower levels of Dutch society against some of the fundamental social and cultural developments of the nineteenth century."[386] The Secession gained traction during a period of economic decline, beginning with the Europe-wide disruption in trade caused by the Napoleonic wars and continuing through to a crisis between 1845 and 1850. "During this slump the nation's elite improved its position by capturing a larger share of the national wealth and important posts and functions,"[387] including within the newly institutionalized church. Thus, in areas "where the Secession took hold there were significant correlations between social status and ecclesiastical direction. The 'big farmers,' the local aristocracy, [and] the 'progressive' and 'enlightened' elements of society ridiculed the movement; the hired hands, the poor farmers, and the small tradesmen... composed almost its entire membership."[388]

Given the radical rhetoric of the movement and the fact that its target, the National Church, was a government body, it was concluded that the Seceders were sowing social unrest, and were a threat to the state. The government responded by banning Secessionist meetings and fining congregations, "imprisoning some of their pastors [and] quartering troops in their homes."

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[383] Bratt, 6
[384] Ibid., 3
[385] VanBelle 1997, 82
[386] Bratt, 3.
At its time, the *Reveil*, though in principle sympathetic to the protests of the common people against the shifts in the state church, never publicly or officially aligned with them, as the *Reveil*'s elite members found the *kleine luyden*'s notions and activities for the most part too radical and extreme. "The aristocrats deplored the 'tone' and 'extremes' of the Secession [*Afscheiding*] and distrusted any agitation among the lower orders. Moreover, they disapproved of ecclesiastical schism as a step away from their ideal, the reestablishment of Reformed orthodoxy as the official national religion." Bratt, 11.
[387] Ibid., 5
[388] Ibid., 6

This crackdown had begun slightly before 1834, and it continued until 1840. By this point Holland had a new government and it had also become clear that the Secession would remain within the bounds of theology and religious affiliation.[389] This six-year period of "persecution" – so perceived by the Seceders, and so still labeled by their descendants[390] – added to the CGK's self-perception as the "true church" and the "faithful remnant," thereby strengthening their resolve to resist the worldliness and ungodliness of the *hervormde kerk*.

This persecution is sometimes offered to explain the relatively high number of Seceders who emigrated to the US during the second wave, between 1846 and 1856. However, as Bratt points out, official persecution had ended six years prior to the beginning of this emigration period. What was worsening, however, were economic conditions. As noted, the population most affected by economic crisis – the poor, disadvantaged, and socially marginalized – were also those who tended to populate the Secessionist ranks.

In the mid-1840s not only was Holland recuperating from the late eighteenth century disruption of the European market, but for the working classes the consolidation of property and position in the hands of the elite that had also occurred at this time meant an additional decrease of power over local affairs. Many tenants and day labourers, for instance, lost their economic security "as landholders moved from a paternalistic to a contractual form of organization."[391] Considering the emigration patterns of the entire second wave, it becomes clear that, while "Seceders were far more likely to leave the country than were members of any other religious group […] Dutch emigration generally conformed to the larger European pattern: it was a mass exodus of the rural poor."[392] At the same time, Seceders formed a disproportionate percent of the emigrant population, forming seventeen percent of all Dutch emigrants between 1831 and 1877, "despite the fact that in the terminal year they represented no more than five percent of the total population."[393]

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[389] Ibid., 7; VanBelle 1997, 82

[390] Christian Reformed Church. "History." <https://www.crcna.org/welcome/history> [Accessed 11 March 2016]

[391] Bratt, 5

[392] Ibid., 8. "Scholars and spokesmen alike have long exaggerated the Secessionist part of the emigration by concentrating almost exclusively on the group migrations between 1846 and 1856 led by Secessionist pastors, thereby coming to think that most immigrants were Seceders fleeing religious oppression. Unfortunately for this view, substantial emigration from the Netherlands began [a decade later than the years of persecution] during a severe agricultural depression brought on by the infamous potato blight. For the rest of the century emigration fluctuated with the business cycle... . [...] In addition, less than four percent of the pre-1880 emigrants cited religious reasons for their departure, while over ninety percent declared an economic motive." (Ibid, 8)

[393] Ibid., 8. He also provides some further numbers: "In the [north-east corner] province of Friesland, Seceders formed two percent of the population in 1849 and seven percent in 1879, but twenty-one percent of the emigrants

Thus, though the Seceders were a minor (albeit vocal) fraction of the landscape of Reformed Christianity in the Netherlands, they would play a prominent role in the establishment and shape of Reformed Christianity in the USA. From the 1850s to 1870s, CGK members continued to emigrate to the friendlier economic climes of America, buoyed by religious convictions which judged the material condition of the Netherlands at once "divine punishment of a faithless nation" and an impediment to obeying the will of God in that environment.[394] These orthodox tended to also join the American Christian Reformed Church, which had been formed by the earliest Seceder immigrants in 1857. The denomination grew quickly and by the time of the post-WWII immigration wave, there were well over one hundred congregations, including fifteen in Canada.[395]

The second wave of Dutch settlers, around the turn of the nineteenth century, was concentrated mostly in the eastern and mid-western states. As land there began to reach full occupancy for farmers, immigrants began to turn their sights north, to Canada. Southern Ontario was the choice for many, but there were also the prairies where, in Alberta, free homesteads were being offered to boost agricultural settlement. Most Dutch arrivals to Alberta first settled in the dry grasslands of southern Alberta, drawn by the free land. They congregated around CRCs, the earliest of which was established in Granum, in 1905. As settlers moved north they followed a trail of arable land, viable homesteading, and connection with a few Dutch residents who had arrived in the 1890s, some of whom had been hired as fieldmen. CRCs slowly grew with the migration, becoming centres for the growing Dutch community.

ii. "Third Wave" Reformism, 1870s to 1950s: Abraham Kuyper and the post-WWII Immigrants' CRC

After the Secession, another schism opened within the *hervormde kerk*. Under the leadership of Abraham Kuyper, who was inspired by the *Afscheiding* leaders van Prinsterer and da Costa, a movement known as "neo-Calvinism" began. Its purpose was to "reform" the state church from within, according to similar "orthodox" precepts as those espoused by the Seceders.

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between 1831 and 1877. Figures for shorter periods are even more striking. Between 1844 and 1857 almost ten percent of all Seceders left the Netherlands for America. These represented thirty-five percent of all Dutch Protestant emigrants – proportionally, more than eight times the number of other Dutch Protestants. During one brief period, 1846-49, they even constituted a strong majority (sixty-four percent) of Protestant emigrants, and an even half of all Dutch emigrants, a remarkable achievement in light of their 2.3 and 1.3 percent shares of the respective populations." (8-9)

[394] Ibid., 9-10

[395] VanBelle 1997, 87-88

Abraham Kuyper was raised in a liberal, upper-class Protestant household, comfortably part of the Dutch intellectual and social elite, with a Doctorate in Theology. After beginning a career as a minister in the state church, Kuyper experienced a spiritual transformation that involved a conviction that the church itself, and the entire social structure on which it rested and which it perpetuated, must be transformed.[396] The church and society had become static and self-satisfied, and cultivating of injustice. This epiphany aligned him with the "orthodox" members of the *hervormde kerk* who had not joined the Secession. These members were also, largely, comprised of Holland's *kleine luyden*.

From 1870-1920 the neo-Calvinist movement "held the Netherlands' attention, wrote much of its political and cultural agenda, and in the end reshaped some of its fundamental structures."[397] For these fifty years Kuyper led, "indeed personified," the movement. He

> defined the ideology of the movement – in over twenty thousand newspaper articles, in scores of pamphlets and speeches on controversial or celebratory occasions, and in multivolume treatises on theology, politics, education, science, and philosophy. He also led the battle for its practical implementation. He was editor for almost fifty years of two of the movement's newspapers, a political daily and religious weekly; co-founder of and professor at the Calvinistic Free University in Amsterdam; advocate of Christian elementary schools; leader of a huge secession from the Hervormde Kerk and cofounder of a new denomination formed by the merger of this group with the earlier Secession; promoter and defender of the Christian labor movement; head of the Anti-Revolutionary political party for forty years; long-time member of the national legislature and prime minister of the Netherlands for four years.[398]

For this reason neo-Calvinists, especially those adhering to the major ideas articulated by Kuyper, are often also referred to as "Kuyperians."[399] The neo-Calvinists, Kuyper and his supporters, "saw their movement as a reformation of the Reformation." By this, the neo-Calvinists "had in mind the ongoing task of perpetually reforming not only their existing cultural-historical context but also their own views and practices in a Christian direction."[400]

Kuyper's ultimate and fundamental goal was to bring the *hervormde kerk* out from its

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[396] McGoldrick, 98
[397] Bratt, 14
[398] Ibid., 14-15
[399] In general Kuyper and his theological descendants are known as "neo-Calvinists" because of their adaptation of the principles of Reformed Calvinism to the needs of their own eras and contexts. (McGoldrick, 106) Because major disagreements on doctrine are often interpreted by one side or the other as apostasy or heresy, some use "neo-Calvinist" derogatorily while others proudly claim it and the "reforming" or "reformational" stance that it implies.
[400] VanBelle 1997, 85

isolation in liberal self-satisfaction or pietist cloistering and into the world. He was convinced, and the Kuyperians behind him, that the role of the church in the world was to serve God in every area of life by creating Christian engagement with the whole world, and not only with those parts circumscribed as "religious." Christians were to bring the Christian vision into the world and change the world through that, not hide from the world in churches and Sundays. This vision was both religious and political, for Kuyper. He desired "to stir the orthodox from their passive isolation" and at the same time "to direct the ensuing passion against liberalism's political and cultural hegemony."[401]

This goal required the accomplishment of two changes: one, the mobilization of the *kleine luyden*, who were excluded from political participation and who also tended, as noted, to comprise the majority of the orthodox believers within the Dutch Reformed tradition; and two, a shift in the very fundamental Reformed view of the world and how to behave in relation to it, from a withdrawn and dichotomizing view of the world as irrevocably "fallen," to one of the world as God's world, to be restored and renewed by Christian action.[402]

Kuyper's core theological-doctrinal notions can be summed up in four terms: "Antithesis," "World and Life View," "Sphere Sovereignty," and "Common Grace." Out of these four notions emerged the two major ideas that post-WWII immigrants brought with them to Canada, that were by then fully entrenched in Dutch culture:

1. The notion of the "pillarization" of society, wherein each ideological (religious) community or segment of society develops its own complete set of institutions, from schools, to political party, to credit unions, social services, unions, etc.

2. The participatory and active role of the CRC in broader society, and the responsibility of the CRC to take action against social injustice, specifically as a Calvinist institution, standing up as the antithesis of humanistic forces corrupting the world.

The all-encompassing socio-religious worldviews reflected by the Kuyperian theological framework continue to characterize the CRC outlook today. These ideas are also therefore illuminative of certain persuasive influences from within the church on the genesis and work of World Renew.

Antithesis

From van Prinsterer and da Costa of the *Reveil*, and from de Cock and van Raalte of the

[401] Bratt, 16
[402] Ibid., 16

Afscheiding, neo-Calvinists inherited the paradigm of "antithesis" as a categorical definition of human society. Antithesis avers, in short, that in the world there are only two types of human endeavour: that which is *for* Christ, i.e., is godly/Christian, and that which is *anti*-Christ, i.e., is ungodly/secular. This principle of difference and division defined all philosophies and worldviews, and thus all endeavours and institutions, including governance, education, business, the arts, etc. That which is done from a secular premise is fundamentally in opposition to and irreconcilable with that done from a Christian point of view. This is the pietist world principle, which Kuyper adopted.

Antithesis borrows the Idealist philosophic premise "that the determinative forces of reality were not external or material but [rather] the ultimate commitment of the heart of man, his 'life-principle' [which] harnessed the instincts and shaped ideas, actions, and environment... . Similarly, on a larger scale, every nation, every civilization was simply the elaboration of a principle or of the conflict of principles." Kuyper employed the concept of principles to his own ends, declaring that all such fundamental "life-principles" are necessarily religious: "commitments to or defiance of God's will."[403] All human behaviour, all political schemes, all economic strategy, all pursuit of knowledge derives from religious roots (and can therefore, "be legitimately evaluated by religious criteria").[404]

For the community to whom Kuyper spoke, this worldview offered three particular and important goods. First, especially during the first half of his career, antithesis rhetoric served to "fortify group identity during a potentially threatening transition." Second, "...especially for people emerging from a parochial social and intellectual past," the notion of principles "legitimized... concerns that their pietism had discouraged" and freed them from legalism or materialism that limited faith to particular acts, persons, or places. Finally, "it enabled neo-Calvinists to declare, to their everlasting credit, that reason was the servant of the heart; that no intellectual activity, including the natural sciences, was impartial or value-free or without presuppositions; and that every social organization operated according to and in the interests of an ideology."[405]

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[403] Ibid., 17

[404] Ibid., 17; McGoldrick, 100.
See also Hall, David W. Calvin in the Public Square: Liberal Democracies, Rights, and Civil Liberties. Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2009. p.306

[405] Bratt, 18

World and Life View

Kuyper was determined to uproot the "pietistic dualisms"[406] that limited religious life to Sundays and the private realm. Since God, he argued, created all of life and therefore "all things exist for the sake of glorifying God," Christianity should infuse all of life, which should be lived in service to and for the glory of God. Pietist isolation is an affront to the sovereignty of God over all things, and all realms.[407]

Kuyper's exhortation toward this reform took the form of the slogan, "Christ is King [or Lord] over all of life," that is, over "every square inch" of the world – not just the private, but also the public arena. "For the *kleine luyden*," writes VanBelle, the slogan had a dual meaning. It appealed, first, to the centuries old, deep Calvinist "sense of God's guiding, providing, and calling presence in their lives," a trust and a "conviction" that God would always meet them in their time of need. Second, it was a call to action or, rather, a call to service. If Christ was lord over all of life, and was also a God who met them faithfully in their need, then their response must be in like terms: faithful service in all realms of life and at all times. This dual meaning, he continues, "formed the spiritual mainspring of neo-Calvinism."[408] The notion that the world is under the ongoing redemptive power of Christ also underscored the personal pietist experience of God's continued active participation in human history.

To Kuyper, this Calvinist view of God's omnipresence and omnipotence required an ordering of life that extended well beyond the confines of the church. Neo-Calvinists needed to recognize the call to leave their isolation and to participate in the redemption of the fallen world: "Were they to be *Calvinists* again, they could no longer dismiss certain fields (scholarship, art, and politics) as inherently 'worldly'; they had instead to recognize these and all occupations as Christian callings, and more generally they had to make engagement rather than withdrawal their paradigm of the Christian life."[409] Kuyper understood the present "fallen" condition of the world, due to sin, as its abnormal condition. Though fallen, it is still under the rule of Christ, who seeks to restore it through divine action. It is the role of Christians to work toward this restoration, by

[406] Ibid., 16
[407] Wagenman, Michael R. "Abraham Kuyper and the Church: From Calvin to the Neo-Calvinists" in Steve Bishop and John H. Kok (eds). On Kuyper: A Collection of Readings on the Life, Work & Legacy of Abraham Kuyper. Sioux Center, Iowa: Dordt College Press, 2013. 125-140. p.136
[408] VanBelle 1997, 84
[409] Bratt, 16

transforming corrupted structures and sinful culture in a Christian direction.[410]

Sphere Sovereignty

The notion of sphere sovereignty emerges from the pluralism embedded in the world-life view of God's sovereignty. Since everything was and continues to be created by God, everything that exists, "revolutionary" and antithetical, has a place in creation as overseen by God. This valuation of plurality includes the plurality of organizations. In respect of the creation of plurality, the sovereignty of these "spheres," as imputed by God through *his* sovereignty, must be maintained as the Christian engages with the world. Organizational ordering and authority has to be both respected and restricted as such.

Nicholas Wolterstorff summarizes the notion of sphere sovereignty from another side, when he writes:

> The basic issue here is something like this: in human society there is a large variety of organizations which have authority over people. These organizations can be distinguished by reference to the different people over whom they have authority. But they can also be distinguished by reference to the matters on which they have the right to speak authoritatively. Every organization has the right to speak authoritatively on some matters and not on others. Or as we may put it, each has a limited 'sphere' for its authority. Within its sphere it is, under God, sovereign; outside its domain of authority it lacks the right to command obedience.[411]

Kuyper argued two main points regarding sphere sovereignty. First, it is natural and therefore right that there should be distinct spheres of authority in human society, each having independence from the authority of the others, and yet all coordinating as a functional whole.[412] Second, Christians should be active in every sphere, as part of their covenant duty and service to God in the work of redeeming and restoring the world. Not the church, which itself has a limited sphere of appropriate authority, but the Christian community, which "should form itself into whatever sorts of organization are appropriate within a given sphere."[413]

The scope of the state's authority was a particular focus in the articulation of Kuyperian vision, since the Dutch/European state was considered to be run by revolutionary humanistic liberal principles. Kuyper limited the role of the state in society to "night watchman" status,

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[410] McGoldrick, 97, 102, 104; VanBelle 1994, 5

[411] Wolterstorff, Nicholas. "Cosmonomia Revisited: The AACS in the CRC." *Reformed Journal*, Dec 1974, 9-16. p.14.
See also Wagenman, 128

[412] Wolterstorff, 14; Bratt, 26; Wagenman, 128

[413] Wolterstorff, 14

wherein its tasks are predominantly negative, or defensive: to prevent harms from occurring, to protect just citizens from injustice. Society was considered to be an organism that thrived and developed on its own, apart from a government, and so the state was to leave society to develop freely according to its own nature. For government to attempt productive participation in society would be an intrusive, stifling interference with the created order of things. Though the state had real authority, it had "few powers and fewer activities. It was the final guardian of society's order but also the worst threat to its liberty. It was to be feared, in both senses of the term."[414]

The role of the church was somewhat less constrained. Though its authority did not reach into other spheres, as a part of society it was permitted to participate and take initiatives within that organic life. Though its focus of authority was "the confessional aspect of human life," this aspect of life, for Kuyper, was not to be viewed as sequestered and private, but as existing in relation with the rest of the spheres, as Christian community members actively engaged in them.[415]

Common Grace

The capstone of Kuyper's vision for the reformational church community is the doctrine of "common grace" which functioned to affirm and legitimize both the separateness and chosenness of God's people, and their engagement with the "worldly" sphere, becoming "the linchpin for the entire transformation of consciousness Kuyper was trying to effect."[416] While salvation remains restricted to those benefiting from the "special grace" of the elect, God's grace works not only upon the elect to the salvation of their souls but touches all men, all creation, by restraining the power of sin and by enabling knowledge and virtue to flower in the absence of true religion."[417] Common grace is that which, while not salvific, makes it possible for unsaved parts of the world to still be capable of goodness and wisdom, and still be useful for good purposes. The doctrine of common grace allows neo-Calvinists to maintain the paradigm of antithesis and election, but not be forced into isolation or absurdity in trying to defend it. Common grace enables reconciliation of "the doctrine of total depravity with the presence of good among the unconverted, at the same time reaffirming God's sovereignty by making that good the fruit of divine grace rather than of

[414] Bratt, 27; Hall, 308, 310
[415] Wagenman, 130
[416] Bratt, 20
[417] Ibid., 19

human effort."[418]

In combination with world-life view and sphere sovereignty, common grace finalized the argument that the elect beneficiaries of special grace could and ought to be involved in activities that were not necessarily specifically religious or derived from religious principles. At the same time, maintaining the distinction of the functions of the two types of grace meant that the specialness imbued by antithesis remained secure. Even when not outright condemning all aspects of the "world," the distinct principles of antithesis still remained. In this way Kuyper was able to appeal to multiple strata and points of view within the orthodox community.[419]

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Though Kuyper's goal for the church was "to cleanse [it] of false teaching and to emancipate it from dependence upon state financial support",[420] he was unsuccessful in reforming the church as a whole, and in 1886[421] the neo-Calvinists made the difficult decision to split from the state church. This split was called the *Doleantie*, or "sorrow" for the apostasy of the Church.[422] Like the Seceders before them, this resulted in "arrests, fines, expulsions from the ministry, and loss of church properties."[423] Also like the Seceders, the neo-Calvinists interpreted this "persecution" as confirmation that they, and not the *hervormde kerk*, were on the side of Christ.

Prior to this, in 1879, in line with his views of the responsibility of the church in the public sphere Kuyper spearheaded the formation of a Christian political movement, the Anti-Revolutionary Party (invoking van Prinsterer's definition of "revolution" as a product of unbelief). The main motivation for this was to end state control of education so that the Reformed and other Christian and religious groups (i.e. other Protestants, and the Catholics) could establish their own separate school systems. The establishment of these separate schools, from primary to post-secondary, was necessary for his vision of a Christianity that was prepared to participate in all areas of life. His movement was eventually successful, and state control of education ended in 1889, with private schools receiving full funding as of 1917.[424]

This political leadership also aided his championing of the *kleine luyden* and efforts to

[418] Ibid., 19-20
[419] Ibid., 19-20; Fallon, 110, 112; McGoldrick, 104; Wagenman, 126
[420] McGoldrick, 98
[421] Ibid., 98; VanBelle 1997, 83
[422] VanBelle 1997, 83
[423] McGoldrick, 98
[424] Ibid., 99-100

restructure the socio-economic and political systems.[425] Toward these goals, Kuyper employed both doctrine and political action, embodying his own convictions in his effort to convince others. His movement would eventually bring about fundamental shifts in the Dutch Reformed Church and in norms of everyday life in the Netherlands. From the beginning to the end of his career, Kuyper championed the interests of the common people, "both to appeal to that bedrock of Calvinist loyalty and to assert the rights of the voiceless."[426] When he left the ministry in 1874 to become a member of parliament, and later serve as prime minister from 1900-1905, he led efforts to change the electorate, which excluded the *kleine luyden*, who had no right to vote. In 1870, only twelve percent of adult males were permitted to vote; by 1896, after twenty years of agitating, the numbers had grown to 49 percent of adult males[427] (which, though still excluding 51% of them, and 100% of women, was nonetheless a significant improvement in political equity among Dutch citizens).

> Kuyper also criticized industrial economics, presenting
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> > nineteenth century history as one long tale of oppression and duplicity by merchants, industrialists, and financiers and their political front-men, the liberals and conservatives. With traditional restraints abolished by the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie had first ground the poor to dust and then refused them any extension of their own precious liberty, equality, and prosperity. […] Kuyper condemned laissez-faire political economy, defended labor's right to organize, and advocated an industrial insurance system, the abolition of woman and child labor, and interventionist measures to relieve poverty.[428]

Kuyper's own *hervormde* constituents (before the schism) were not spared this criticism either. They were chastised for their hypocritical views on private property and wealth, when Christ, the prophets, and the apostles had spoken against it; and for their apathy toward issues of social injustice which, he said, gave "revolutionary movements" more credit than the church. This type of political action allied him with radical Dutch socialists despite the fact that, while he saw the good in their social vision, in his view their fundamental humanistic premises were intrinsically converse to the God-based premises of a Christian political philosophy. For Kuyper, the opposition faced by the Anti-Revolutionary Party and by his efforts in parliament derived not

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[425] In fact, Bratt notes that Kuyper's overriding suspicion of the state and the role of government, and his "unfounded confidence in 'natural, organic' forces [viz. that history is fundamentally organized by God] prevented him from translating his denunciations of ravaging capitalism into adequate restraints on its power." (29)
[426] Bratt, 24
[427] McGoldrick, 99
[428] Bratt, 24-25

only from "incompatible material aspirations. They... reflected the collision of irreconcilable life principles." Such principles were not simply in the realm of priorities or perspective, but derived from the basic opposition taking place in "the battle between good and evil," wherein some are in rebellion against God and living in idolatry of human sovereignty, and wherein therefore "the opposing forces have no common ground."[429]

Pillars

One of Kuyper's major accomplishments during his time as Member of Parliament and then Prime Minister was, as noted, the development of state support (financial for education; legitimating for others) for separate religious institutions, or "pillars," along ideological lines. The term "pillars," or "pillarization," "emphasized that the essential partitions in Dutch society were vertical, and projected from the aristocracy down to the level of the working class." The three main pillars were Protestant, Catholic, and secular or neutral (including Jews and Muslims), with the Protestant pillar having several subdivisions, including the Reformed. These pillars meant that each group "established institutions which corresponded to its own particular beliefs and religious emphases, [for example] separate political parties, schools, newspapers, and labour unions."[430] By the beginning of the second World War this societal division was firmly entrenched and, for the majority of Dutch post-War emigrants, it would be a norm that they took for granted.

Looking over the four core notions of Kuyperianism one can see how pillarization developed out of the combination of world-denial and -affirmation. In view of the doctrine of antithesis, that every practice, institution, and endeavour stems from an orienting principle that is either for or against God, it is clear that to answer the call to engage with the world neo-Calvinists would feel the need to establish their own, correctly principled, organizations. On one hand the establishment of such organizations signifies a rejection of secular principles; on the other it is part of the willingness and requirement of Christian individuals to reach out to the secular world, to transform and redeem it from its condemned state.[431] Sphere sovereignty further entrenches this position, by restricting the authority of the church proper, and thus pushing the Christian community out of the church and into various spheres of social organization. From the world-life view and common grace come the basic necessity of engagement and the possibility of

[429] McGoldrick, 101, 105
[430] Fallon, 119
[431] VanBelle 1994, 5

good in and from this engagement.

The social action mandate espoused by Kuyper is clear. The mandate, further, is not simply to engage but to do justice, the covenant obligation of the elect. Fallon notes the dual biblical mandate utilized by Kuyper. The "universal," or "gospel," mandate of the New Testament, Matthew 28:19-20, to "go forth and make disciples of all nations" is employed in combination with the "cultural," or "stewardship," mandate of the Old Testament, Genesis 1:28: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth."[432] God's people are "called," not only to be holy, but to participate in the ongoing redemptive care of the world. This dual mandate, argues Fallon, was seen by Kuyper as legitimizing all human activity as a calling before God.[433] The notions of calling and mandate are themselves covenantal notions, deriving power from their place as cementing a bond and a promise between God and his chosen people – at creation, and again at moments of re-creation, when the covenant is repaired, renewed and restored, by God's grace. As God has revealed his grace to the elect, so, then, are the elect called and mandated to bring God's grace into the world. As "chosen" and "elect," these mandates are among the principles for self-understanding that continue to motivate and inspire the CRC today, and the sometimes conflicting points of view within it.

Kuyper's strategy of pillarization also had an unintended and ironic result for the church in Holland, that would reverberate through the CRC in North America. Once the "erstwhile *kleine luyden* had become culturally and politically established, they confined themselves, by and large, to perpetuating the lifestyle and system of public participation that they had forged for themselves" under the leadership of Kuyper. "They began to live their lives in terms of pillars, or religious blocs. While this drew them closer to one another," observes VanBelle, "it isolated them from others who were not neo-Calvinists. They considered the question of how to relate to the non-Calvinists as settled. The boundaries had been drawn, all that was needed was to defend them."[434]

This was, obviously, not what Kuyper had had in mind when he advocated for the pillar system of sphere sovereignty. Rather, this was the pietist, isolationist take on the pillars, as protective measures to enable Christians to work in various arenas, without contamination from

[432] Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version
[433] Fallon, 116
[434] VanBelle 1997, 86; Fallon

non-Christian (anti-Christian) influences. For Kuyper, the private, inner-focusing nature of the church was for the purpose of gathering, strengthening, and then sending out Christians into the world as "light" and "salt."[435] For the pietists, it was for gathering and strengthening protective barriers.[436] While Kuyper railed and argued against this interpretation, it was a strand of Dutch orthodox Reformism that would not be eradicated, that found a sympathetic home in the American CRC, and that exists as a significant body of thought and action in the CRC today.

Most of these orthodox pietists were members of early Secessionist churches, the CGK, who watched as Kuyper formed the *Doleantie* and seceded from the state church in 1886, and again when their denomination joined with Kuyper's in 1892. Some, in protest, formed a schism of their own denomination. Some members of this schism emigrated to the U.S., identifying as CGK, which caused this split, as well, to have lasting repercussions in Dutch America.[437] The differences between pietistic conservative and neo-Calvinist visions of the appropriate Christian life in the world would continue to shape the discourse and growth of the post-WWII CRC in North America.

On the whole, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that Kuyper's ecumenical theologies took hold in Holland in the way he had envisioned. Until then, his biggest legacy was the pillarization of society into vertical religious institutional divisions, and the activation of some of these institutions into Christian engagement with the world. This activation took hold increasingly over time, so that earlier Christian Reformed emigrants were less informed by Kuyperian religio-politics, whereas later, especially post-WWII (the war context broke down many barriers to cooperation that had seemed insurmountable before, and gave new perspective on the sources and meaning of evil), emigrants were differently theologically influenced. Post-WWII Christian Reformed Dutch brought the social and doctrinal norms of pillars and the mandate of social action with them to North America, where, though the ideas of Kuyper had gained some traction, they had not formed the same socio-political roots as they had in Holland.

IV. The CRC in North America post-WWII, with a focus on Canada

The Dutch CRC context in North America into which post-WWII immigrants arrived was,

[435] Matthew 5:13-15: "You are the salt of the earth; but if salt has lost its taste, how can its saltiness be restored? It is no longer good for anything, but is thrown out and trampled under foot. 14 You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hid. No one after lighting a lamp puts it under the bushel basket, but on the lamp stand, and it gives light to all in the house." Holy Bible, NRSV

[436] Wagenman, 137; Bratt, 31: They were "vigilant for orthodoxy among themselves and content to let the rest of the world go."

[437] Bratt, 29

though the same in name and even in doctrine to the CGK, an essentially American organization that had not experienced the social normalization of Kuyper's religious perspectives. CGK immigrants were considered CRC, however, and the depths of Dutch and American differences have, rather than spurring schisms of the CRCNA, become part of its character in North America. Despite their sometimes acrimonious nature, the internal conflicts of the CRCNA seem to function as a productive tension for the church, integral to the community's vitality.

The mid-nineteenth century Dutch immigrant vanguard came, like the early British, Scandinavian, and German communities, "from the 'fringe' of extreme sectarians and 'idealists,'"[438] and also from the rural disenfranchised demographic of the Secession. Between 1860 and the 1920s, however, the North American Dutch Reformed immigrant demographic shifted to include a wider range of socio-economic and educational levels. Albeit often disenfranchised with the state church in Holland, their reasons for emigrating to the US and Canada were not necessarily homogeneous.

In general, and over time, contending views among immigrants who formed the American CRC tended to be classed as either "conservative" or "progressive." These paralleled the Dutch divide within the post-*Doleantie* CGK, between orthodox pietist and neo-Calvinist interpretations of Kuyper's teachings.[439] Wolterstorff also adds a third tradition of thought, "doctrinalism," which essentially refers to "those who see the appropriate response to the gospel as consisting especially in the acceptance of true doctrine," as it is revealed by God in the Bible.[440] This position can of course be held by a person of either the conservative/pietist or the progressive/neo-Calvinist persuasion, since both sides base their positions in the Bible. Each side, further, is itself heterogeneous, embodying a spectrum of interpretations of doctrines, as well as mirroring, at all times, the basic historical traits of society as a whole.[441]

Thus the sudden inflow of Dutch Christian Reformed Church members after WWII exacerbated lines of tension already latent in the 1920s to forties American CRC. Because the new growth occurred especially in Canadian churches, in significant degree these tensions

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[438] Ibid., 10

[439] Ibid., 188-195; Schryer 124-125; van Lieburg 46-47.
See also Breems, Bradley G. "Boundary Maintenance and Its Evidence in the Case of Canadian Dutch-Calvinists" in Gerard Dekker, Donald A. Luidens and Rodger R. Rice (eds). Rethinking Secularization: Reformed Reactions to Modernity. Lanham, Maryland; Oxford, UK: University Press of America, Inc., 1997. 137-150. p.141

[440] Wolterstorff, 10

[441] Schryer, 136

aligned significantly with the mapped boundary of the forty-ninth parallel, given that new immigrants in Canadian churches were often the majority of the congregation. Especially in Western Canada, given its distance from the influence of established CRCs in Michigan as well as from the centre of Canadian governance (and assimilation), new immigrants felt free to dissent and to assert their doctrinal freedoms with little backlash. This, too, fit well with Alberta's cultural climate and its existing contrariness regarding external governance.

Whether new Canadian CRC arrivals argued from a pietist antithesis-based position or from the perspective of common grace and God's sovereignty, what they shared was an insistence that the CRCNA become more heavily invested in building Reformed institutions which, heretofore, it had not focused on, despite the emphasis in Holland. Willing to put aside their differences for the time being, these fifties and sixties Dutch immigrants pressed Synod forcefully on the matter.[442] Later years would see these same churches being equally vocal in Synod on matters of social action.

A significant contingency for the doctrinal and social formation of the incipient CRCs in, especially, Western Canada was the decision of the CRCNA to send Dutch pastors to the new congregations to help cope with the sudden ministerial shortage brought about by rapid church growth and also to meet the new constituents' language needs. While some of the ministers came from the US, the influential majority had just arrived from Holland, and the impact of the strongly Dutch theological orientation of these pastors cannot be overstated.[443] American pastors sent to Canadian churches "saw the central importance of the church as looking after the spiritual, educational, social and recreational needs of its members, but beyond that they encouraged church members to participate in Canadian institutions as individual witnesses to Christian viewpoints."[444] The Dutch immigrant pastors, by contrast, arrived with a sense of mission, "to make Calvinism a major force in Canadian culture as it was back home." Therefore, though they viewed the confessional role of the church similarly to the Americans, they also insisted on a radical disparity and separation from public and other non-Calvinist institutions, and the establishment of the CRC's own structures, in order to be a people "set apart yet actively engaged" in society. The Dutch pastors taught that the Canadian communities must confront the

[442] Stob, George. "A Decade of Growing Pains." *The Reformed Journal*, March 1961, 11-17. p.13. See also Bratt, 195; Hiemstra, 164.
Synod is the overarching governing body of the CRCNA. It meets annually.
[443] VanBelle 1994, 8; Schryer, 129
[444] Groenewold, 182

underlying structures of Canadian society, which were in fundamental conflict with Christianity, by establishing "alternative, non-ecclesiastical institutional structures that reflected their distinctive Calvinist heritage."[445]

The themes brought by these Dutch pastors were familiar to their new congregations, and provided a sense of continuity. Besides preaching, the pastors encouraged "an organized Christian witness" through CRC publications containing articles of edification and encouragement.[446] (Such publications remain a significant part of community maintenance in the CRCNA today.) Such ideas would not have taken root in the American context where the Reformed church was already an integral part of the larger society and where, therefore, the notion of separate Christian Reformed-based institutions was "strange and unacceptable," but in the new Canadian context the Dutch model took firm root.[447]

Another, slightly later, strong influence on Canadian churches came in the form of Dr. Evan Runner, who led a revival of antithetical vision in the CRCNA from 1957 through the 1970s.[448] Runner encouraged Canadian congregations to push for further pillarization, especially via the founding of a conservative Christian political party.[449] Though he also promoted these ideas in the American CRCs, his ideas were more popular in the Canadian context, which had not yet strongly established its theological identity.[450] This led to controversy within the CRCNA as a whole,[451] but was also resisted by a significant number in the Canadian context who "were well on their way to full integration into the cultural life of Canada."[452] Much like the challenge faced by Kuyper once the *kleine luyden* had reached a comfortable state, Runner and his proponents met the resistance of the socio-economically unmotivated and thus theologically-disinterested majority of the CRC community. By 1974 the radical transformation movement had lost much of its support, and had been mostly reabsorbed into the CRC mainstream.[453]

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CRC schools grew quickly in Canada, from three day schools (grades one to twelve) in 1945, to 114 by 1985. In Edmonton alone, three Christian day schools were built between 1946 and

[445] Ibid., 182-183
[446] VanBelle 1994, 8-9
[447] Schryer, 129
[448] Kits, 44
[449] Bratt, 196
[450] Kits, 44
[451] See, e.g. Wolterstorff, re. the "Dooyeweerdian movement" in Christian Reformed higher education.
[452] Groenewold, 189
[453] Ibid., 189

1960.[454] The first Christian graduate institution in Canada, now known as the Institute for Christian Studies, was established in Toronto in 1956, and in 1979 and 1982 independent undergraduate institutions were opened in Alberta and Ontario, respectively.[455] In part this was due to the rapid numerical growth of the CRC in Canada, but it was also due to a mistrust of the free public schooling offered by provincial governments. The Dutch CRC brought with them the understanding that no institutions were "neutral" and that enrolling their children in free public education would expose them to teachings that were anti-Christian because non-Christian.[456] While the Canadian churches were greatly encouraged by the American CRCs in the establishment of further churches and the building of schools, the pursuit of pillarization beyond those institutions left them more on their own.

Nonetheless, the CRC in Canada pillarized their environs rapidly and prolifically. In Edmonton, by the end of the seventies the Pastoral Counselling Institute, offering counselling for the emotionally unwell, had been established; as well as Rehoboth, an association for the mentally challenged; two senior care complexes, and a Christian credit union. Other Christian Reformed communities, both urban and rural, followed suit with their own local social institutions. In addition to local initiatives were provincial and regional organizations like the Christian Farmers Federations of Ontario (est. 1970) and Alberta (est. 1974), and national ones like the CLAC which eventually gained a membership of over 10,000.[457]

The attempt to establish a Christian labor union, the CLAC (Christian Labor Association of Canada) was hampered by a conflict of perspectives on the underlying purpose and principles of the union, a typical conflict within both Canadian CRCs and the CRCNA as a whole. This particular conflict manifested over the challenge faced by early organizers in having the union certified by the Ontario Labour Relations Board in 1954, and again in 1958. Their request was first rejected on the grounds that membership appeared to discriminate against non-Christians, and after a second rejection they were advised "to drop the article in [the CLAC] constitution which described the Biblical basis of the union [and] to drop the requirement of opening meetings with Scripture and prayer."[458] Irreconcilable differences over whether or not to implement these changes led to a split in CLAC organizing between those who refused the

[454] VanBelle 1994, 6, 11
[455] Groenewold, 184-185
[456] Hiemstra, 162-163
[457] Groenewold, 185-186
[458] Kits, 42

advice, on grounds of antithesis and pillarization, and those who, citing common grace, were willing to compromise to achieve practical ends. Those interested in common grace-based immediate organizing retreated to local/provincial levels, while those concerned with the more conservative basis took over the CLAC, eventually achieving certification in Ontario in 1963.[459]

In the seventies and eighties, the CRC as a whole faced another dilemma, this time regarding the isolation or openness of their community to outside influences. Tensions over the question of whether or not to allow non-Dutch – viz. non-Christian Reformed – students to attend their schools had led, over the course of decades, to an open rift in the church between "two feuding factions": those who felt that the purpose of the schools was to maintain and safeguard the Dutch Christian Reformed pillar, linking like-minded families and believers; and those who felt that the purpose of a Christian school pillar included the accommodation of non-Reformed Christians, as part of the Kuyperian vision of engagement with the whole world.[460] Though American Christian Reformeds were interested in the cultivation of Christian education at all levels, their reasons and goals for this differed significantly. On both sides, "starting a parent-run Christian school was a vital endeavour to pass on the faith to the next generation," however, "in the United States, the reasons given in the 1960s and 1970s for starting the Christian school was [as] a defensive measure against the larger world," whereas the Dutch Canadian schools began as a continuation of the Dutch tradition of establishing separate schools as a positive example to society.[461]

Though with every serious dispute there are those who decide that it is time to leave the church, the CRCNA has not experienced the types of great divide that occurred in the Dutch Reformed Church of the 1830s and 1880s. Rather, members have learned to compromise, at least with one another, and find ways to work around these differences. In certain ways they can be said to have had little choice: the Canadian CRC, especially, was constrained for some time by the geographic isolation and small sizes of many of its congregations – despite internal differences, it was logistically difficult for any church to contemplate a real break.[462] Further, individuals found themselves constrained by the very endogamous and tightly knit nature of the

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[459] Ibid., 44-48.
See also Schryer, 132ff and Hiemstra, 164f, re. the CLAC and other Christian Reformed institutions dealing with this same conflict.

[460] Schryer, 136-137

[461] Zwart, David E. Faithful Remembering: Constructing Dutch America in the Twentieth Century. PhD Thesis for the Department of History. Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2012. pp.145-147

[462] Groenewold, 183; Schryer, 126

communities themselves. On one hand, adherence to group norms took precedence, for many minority dissenters, over causing a great rift; on another, related hand, the "intensive socialization" via long-term community relations, often including marriage bonds between families in a single community, led to a strong sense of loyalty which served to preserve the church family when faced by the threat of fragmentation.[463]

A third unifying force came from the same recent immigrants that were causing so much conflict. Besides their unique religio-political experiences, these new members had passed through five years of war and the Nazi occupation of their nation and their towns. War had given them perspective on what was really worth fighting over. It had forced everyone to realize that it was the Christian's duty to protect everyone, not just their own, and that unity was to be sought "*between*... rather than *within* faith communities."[464] Thus, however they may have lobbied for the establishment of Christian institutions in their new home, the post-war immigrants were not at base in a particularly schismatic frame of mind.[465]

Evaluated as a whole, the CRCNA is a paradoxical, self-contradictory institution, characteristics that will become even more clear in the following chapter. Over time, the theological and social priorities of the CRCNA, whether as a whole or dissected by an international border, have shifted and changed with movements of the larger local and global social contexts and through conversation and compromise among the varying perspectives that comprise the totality of the church. What has emerged is an institution unique in its strident diversity, tempered by its equally strong determination to maintain a unity that contains and values that plurality.

V. Lifeworld Reflections

My next chapter, using fieldwork data, examines current lay emphasis on and interpretations of CRC doctrines in relation to World Renew and the church community's role in helping the less fortunate. I describe how doctrine, heritage, and lifeworld (of which doctrine and heritage are a part) result in a particular vision of aiding the poor via the work of World Renew. In support of that analysis, and as presenting part of that lifeworld, this chapter (three) suggests a number of things.

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[463] Breems, 141; Schryer, 138

[464] VanBelle, Harry A. "Impact of WW II on the Reformed Dutch in The Netherlands and Canada: A Comparison." *Pro Rege*, Vol.19, No.4, 1991, 27-33. Available at: <http://digitalcollections.dordt.edu/pro_rege/vol19/iss4/5> p.4

[465] Bratt, 195

For one, the CRC and its members have a long tradition of strong disagreement. While this has frequently led to schism, over the past one hundred or so years it has settled into a tension that, while still frequently high-strung, overall is accepted and even humoured as a permanent trait of the denomination. It will be seen that many of my interviewees are comfortable negotiating contrasting viewpoints on various debated issues, and seem at ease with the types of compromise that the church invents.

Second are social sources of the CRCNA's overall understanding of itself as a church of and for social justice. Besides biblical, Kuyperian, and other sources of injunction to help the needy, the church sees itself – symbolically and sometimes literally – as comprised of the *kleine luyden* who were disempowered by humanist elites and by the state, and who had to struggle in socio-economic and religious marginalization. For a long time this self-perception was especially perpetuated by the high numbers of original Dutch immigrants, many of whom had been *kleine luyden* in Holland and then met with further hardship in Canada, which they overcame. Many of these immigrants are now deceased, and church ethnicity is becoming more varied. Nonetheless, the church sees itself as carrying on the Reformed reforming tradition begun by the first Seceders and, as such, envisions itself as occupying an oppositional position with regard to dominant culture and norms. This *kleine luyden* history of the church also adds impetus to its desire to be a haven for the poor and for the down and out, as evidenced strongly by its outstanding work with refugees in Canada, and by its overseas work through World Renew. Besides these major works, individual congregations almost without exception run and host often numerous community programs, designed to serve marginalized and struggling individuals and families locally.

Finally, World Renew itself is in part an outcome of the strong tradition of pillars and social engagement brought to North America by the post-WWII Dutch CRC immigrants, in dialectic with global and domestic political economies and routes of engagement that are enabled or obstructed. Tensions that have arisen over the years regarding World Renew have followed typical lines of dispute between the two broad factions of the church, which I examine in detail in chapter seven. Briefly, here, these include questions such as whether or not World Renew is primarily an evangelizing body; and to what extent, or through which channels, World Renew is accountable to the CRCNA. In chapter four these tensions can be seen, for example, in debates over stewardship, over World Renew's responsibilities as a diaconal organization, and over the appropriate degree and purpose of lay participation in World Renew's work overseas. These

issues are touched on again in chapter seven, which describes World Renew's organizational history and goals, and then at certain points in the dissertation conclusion.

Though World Renew is a well-regarded international NGO, working with large donor organizations, government bodies, and other NGOs, it is at base subject to (and arising from) convictions about the underlying principles of the world and human life, about the possibility (or impossibility) of unholy means accomplishing holy ends, about the sovereignty of God in light of unjust structures, and about the role of human action in the Kingdom of God, specifically, the role of the elect in the transformation of fallen creation.

CHAPTER 4

JUST MONEY: DIACONATE, STEWARDSHIP, AND RELATIONSHIP IN CRC SUPPORT OF WORLD RENEW

(Analysis of Data from Interviews with World Renew Supporters in Alberta CRCs)

Introduction

This chapter examines the support of World Renew by Christian Reformed Church (CRC) members in Alberta, Canada. As the global diaconal representative of the Christian Reformed Church of North America (CRCNA), World Renew acts as "proxy" for a church whose self-perception in the sphere of diaconal responsibilities and possibilities has changed tremendously during the past several decades. The chapter begins by outlining a set of doctrinal ideas that emerged in interviews as central to congregants' considerations of charitable giving, poverty, aid, the responsibilities of the church and individuals toward these things, and the work and duties of World Renew in developing countries. Part I outlines these notions in their general parameters. Following this, in Part II I turn to the subjective interpretations and employment of these terms within my data, how they take shape as expectations of World Renew as well as of opportunities for individual participation in the church's global diaconal work.

The analysis in Part III draws in aspects of culture and lifeworld that infuse congregants' expectations of World Renew, which expectations arise from interpretations of doctrine and theology described in this chapter and in chapter three. Part IV offers some thoughts on the impact for World Renew of these expectations, a discussion which contributes to the dissertation's larger analysis and conclusions in chapter eight.

It will be shown that denominational developments regarding the role of the diaconate are central to constituent views and expectations of World Renew. At its inception, World Renew received the bi-directional mandate of diaconal ministry to the world's needy as well as to the church constituency, the latter in order to cultivate the whole church as a diaconal body. Chapter seven addresses this role in more detail, but here it suffices to say that over time the organization has become tasked with the role, on top of its own work as an NGO, of proxy and mediator for the desires and preferences of constituents.

The main goal of this chapter is to detangle the major sets of constituent preferences that are present in World Renew's relations with the church, and to illustrate the place of *habitus* in

the formation and articulation of these preferences. After doing the same in chapters five and six for the preferences and desires of World Renew's partners in Kenya, chapters seven and eight describe the histories and mechanics of World Renew's obligations to these disparate bodies of participants as well as to its own convictions. This concludes with the overall goal of this dissertation which is, again, to demonstrate the influence of faith on development practice in an international, cross-cultural faith-based aid relationship.

The preferences of constituents for the work of World Renew are multiple and overlapping, and were articulated (to me) via the framework of CRC doctrine. In particular, ideas of best practice for World Renew and for the behaviors of its supporters, i.e. constituents, at home were primarily conceptualized in terms of "stewardship." Secondarily was terminology of "relationship," which seems to stem from a combination of stewardship doctrine and the development strategy espoused by World Renew. Part of World Renew's "inward"- or church-directed mandate is to develop constituent urges to help and "do" in ways that are constructive both for the church and for World Renew's partners in developing countries. This educative work has been conducted to an extent in the language of "relationship-building" as a strategy for cultivating trust and more sustainable projects in third world contexts. Subject to the dialectics of culture, vested interests, doctrinal differences, and personal experiences, "stewardship" and "relationship" have taken on new life as vernacular doctrinal rhetoric with multiple meanings, employed multiply to support different visions of how World Renew and constituents ought (or are permitted) to act in light of global economic disparities.

This analysis, like chapter six, illuminates certain processes by which faith claims and tenets are made tangible and vital within the dynamics of this long distance aid relationship. It also illustrates the complexity of faith-based relational language when employed in this context of multiple expertises, desires, and doctrinal and practical interpretations and interests. One such complexity is the constituent insistence on participating in overseas poverty alleviation work, in the name of stewardship, but in ways that variously contravene the stewardly achievement of other goals. Rather, such participation serves largely to cultivate a diaconal affect or emotion at home, which is of benefit to World Renew in maintaining constituent support.

I. Diaconate, Stewardship, Relationship

i. Diaconate

The work of deacons has been central to the Christian church since its beginnings. In the CRCNA

deacon is one of two congregational offices, the other being that of elder. As a rough distinction, the role of elders is to shepherd the spiritual life of church members while the role of deacons is traditionally directed toward physical needs. A deacon is commissioned to respond to the church's own needy, as well as to those in the community. In recent decades the idea of "community" has widened to incorporate distant others made increasingly near by changes in media, international relations, travel possibilities, and shifting historical and political consciousness.

In the CRCNA's Form for the Ordination of Elders and Deacons, deacons are described as office bearers of the church who

> In Christ's name… relieve victims of injustice. By this they show that Christians live by the Spirit of the kingdom, fervently desiring to give life the shape of things to come. Deacons are therefore called to assess needs, promote stewardship and hospitality, collect and disburse resources for benevolence, and develop programs of assistance. They are also called to speak words of Christian encouragement. Thus in word as well as deed they demonstrate the care of the Lord himself.[466]

During their ordination deacons are charged with inspiring "faithful stewardship" in the congregation, reminding members that "from everyone who has been given much, much will be demanded."[467] They are to teach congregants to be merciful, "to worship God with offerings of wealth, time, and ability, [and to] realize that benevolence is a quality of... life in Christ and not merely a matter of financial assistance. [There is need to] minister to rich and poor alike, both within and outside the church, [and to] weigh the needs of causes and use the church's resources discerningly." Christians are to "be compassionate to the needy [and] respect their need for dignity," and deacons are finally also charged to "be prophetic critics of the waste, injustice, and selfishness in our society, and be sensitive counselors to the victims of such evils."[468]

The general commission of deacons, then, is directed toward care and awareness of the needy, including both material and spiritual disadvantage and impoverishment (insofar as spiritual impoverishment is connected to material behaviors). The role of a deacon is to assess needs, and gather and distribute resources to care for those needs in a strategic way. It will be seen that the above description of the responsibilities of a deacon aligns very strongly with

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[466] Christian Reformed Church of North America. "Form for the Ordination of Elders and Deacons (1982)." <http://www.crcna.org/resources/church-resources/liturgical-forms-resources/ordination-installation/form-ordination-elders> [Accessed 01April2014]

[467] Luke 12:48b

[468] Form for the Ordination of Elders and Deacons.

expectations of World Renew from within the church.

In 2008 the CRCNA Synod adopted "Our World Belongs to God: A Contemporary Testimony" as a current Reformed expression of the Christian faith.[469] Verse forty-one of the testimony presents an expansion of the diaconal commission from the responsibility of a few ordained persons to the calling of all Reformed church members to recognize themselves as members of the diaconate of the church:

> 41. Joining the mission of God,
> the church is sent
> with the gospel of the kingdom
> […]
> to embrace God's mission
> in their neighbourhoods
> and in the world:
> to feed the hungry,
> bring water to the thirsty,
> welcome the stranger,
> clothe the naked,
> care for the sick,
> and free the prisoner.
> We repent of leaving this work to a few,
> for this mission is central to our being.

This expansion means that the work of the church in the world is no longer the task of only a few people, ordained or otherwise set apart, but is the job of all members.

Further explanation of this revision of the diaconate is found in a document presented to Synod in 2013, "Diakonia Remixed: Office of Deacon Task Force Report to Synod 2013."[470] The main goal of the Task Force and Report is to argue for a change in ecclesiastical status of diaconal bodies so that deacons have a voice in church governance. The argument is based on the assertion "that diakonia, as the work of service that restores shalom, is not confined to a particular office but belongs to the church as a whole. The calling of deacons is not to perform that service on behalf of the church, but rather to equip, empower, and enable the whole church to live out its own diaconal calling." As a community of servants, the text continues, the entire church body is called to help "harness," "steward," and "leverage" the gifts of God to be found

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[469] Christian Reformed Church of North America. "Our World Belongs to God: Preface from the 2008 Revision Committee." <http://www.crcna.org/welcome/beliefs/contemporary-testimony/our-world-belongs-god> [Accessed 31March2014]

[470] Office of Deacon Task Force. "Diakonia Remixed: Office of Deacon Task Force Report to Synod 2013." Christian Reformed Church of North America. <http://www.crcna.org/sites/default/files/Diakonia.pdf> [Accessed 31March2014]

among its members, "as well as the gifts lying dormant in the community... Helping neighbours steward their resources is another pathway to heart change, significant living, opening conversations, and relationships that draw people to Jesus as Savior, Redeemer, and King."[471]

The Task Force further reminds readers that "diakonia cannot be reduced to simple acts of charity and the distribution of alms" but has a rich mandate which includes "creation care, service to the poor, prayerful political participation, peacemaking, advocacy, economic stewardship, and education for prophetic watchfulness over our world." The church, they add, has also identified itself as a force against injustice and against the selfishness of "the powerful and privileged who selfishly seek their own interests and thus control and harm others."[472]

Thus, "the church's role in society is described... not only in terms of mercy, but also of justice, reconciliation and peacemaking." Mercy and justice together, "speak to the healing of relationships and the restoration of *shalom* ["right relationship with God"]. In terms of diaconal outreach to the poor, mercy is analogous to relief that addresses immediate needs which are often symptomatic of deeper problems; but justice seeks to understand and address the root causes of poverty."[473] The Task Force and the Ordination of Deacons both assert a diaconate-based connection between deeds, the Gospel mandate,[474] stewardship, and relationship in the sense of redemption or reconciliation, notions that as will be seen are tied to the restoration of the Kingdom of God on earth, which is the CRC's ultimate task.

The Task Force Report includes thoughts and suggestions for moving the church in the direction of this expanded diaconal model. Alongside changing the church order, rerouting and increased funding, and development of new church and deacons resources, they recommend that World Renew "take the lead role in facilitating the collaboration and networking necessary to support deacons, as deacons implement and live out the changes recommended in this report."[475] It is clear that World Renew is not just the NGO of the CRCNA, acting independently in the world. Rather, it is understood to be a Christian Reformed pillar that is required and expected to maintain a certain level of intimacy and filial association with the North American church body and its goings-on. This understanding of World Renew as a diaconal arm of the church is

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[471] Ibid., pp.3, 1
[472] Ibid., p.15. By adopting, in 2012, The Belhar Confession in support of the end of apartheid rule in South Africa.
[473] Ibid., pp.15-16
[474] Aka the Great Commission, Matthew 28:18-20: "And Jesus came and said to them, 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you.'"
[475] Office of Deacon Task Force, "Diakonia Remixed." p.35

affirmed in the descriptions I obtained through my interviews. It is also explicit in the work of World Renew as mandated by the church and as structured and envisioned by World Renew itself.

ii. Stewardship

Deacons are charged with a leadership role in the area of "stewardship." The above descriptions of diaconal duties include several markers of stewardship ethics: the notion of personal assets as gifts from God which (still) belong to him and should be utilized accordingly; the imperative to be discerning in the use of resources; the need to respect the dignity of those one is helping, for example by "counselling" (vs. commanding); the duty of advocacy, helping to bring measures of justice into a systemically unjust society; and the restoration of right relationships among humans and between God and humanity. Stewardship is part of what is viewed as a covenant with God entered into at the time of creation, as found in the "Creation (or cultural) Mandate" (Genesis 1:28).

The CRCNA's 1978 Task Force for World Hunger argues based on stewardship for the church's obligation to be active in the fight against world hunger. The needs of others, it begins, are "claims of God upon the people of God and society at large." By their created nature (that is, in the image of God) and according to God's will, humans are obliged to respond to these claims.[476] The Task Force writes that:

> the Bible proclaims God as creator and owner of all things. He called his creatures into being and entrusted the stewardship of his world to them. At the same time, he remained Lord over his creation and everything within it belongs to him alone. [...] This creator God appoints man to be the key person in the care and development of the creation. As God's partner, God's image, and God's steward, he is to bring the creation to realize its full potential, and guard it against evil forces which damage and destroy.[477]

The care of creation, which includes human beings, is an obligation to which one is bound by all facets of humanity's inherent relationship to God. "Man" is God's steward, which is God's servant and thus the servant of the world, since carrying out the will of God in and for the world consists of serving and caring for God's creation. One is responsible not only for the proper or best use of one's own resources (money, time, talents, etc.), but as well for the resources of the earth, and for helping others best use their assets. Through the care of others, the steward

[476] Task Force on World Hunger. "And He Had Compassion on Them: The Christian and World Hunger" in *Acts of Synod 1978*. Christian Reformed Church of North America, pp.563-632. p.568

[477] Ibid., p.584

responds to and praises God.

Stewardship discourse is focused on healing, renewal, and reconciliation in the face of the brokenness and sinfulness of the world. Signs of this brokenness, a result of the incursion of sin into the world at the Fall of Man, include wealth-poverty disparity, systemic injustice, corruption, waste, and selfishness. In response to world hunger and other injustices deacons are to lead the stewardship of resources within and without the church so that they "can be leveraged in amazing ways," and so that congregants become "ambassadors of reconciliation" in the world, drawing people to Christ and contributing to the alleviation of injustice.[478] To these ends the Task Force encourages individuals to make personal lifestyle changes that demonstrate faithful stewardship: consuming less and differently, advocating for justice, and giving more of money and self to contribute to positive change in the world.[479] These and other steps toward reducing wealth-poverty disparity are steps toward increasing the freedom of the poor "to develop as responsible image-bearers of God, exercising stewardship in their own right and participating in decisions which will affect their lives."[480] Stewardship, then, is a multiply executable command; however, in my interviews most direct references to stewardship had to do with the discerning use of resources – natural, material, financial, and human.

iii. Relationship

After the Fall and the entrance of sin into the world, stewardship became part of God's ultimate plan to restore his creation to himself and to, ultimately, its original perfection. Inequality that creates need in some areas while others have enough or more than enough, is a result of sin and reflects the world's fallenness, or brokenness. Stewardship, which seeks to reduce or alleviate inequality and its results, is an act of justice which is a healing act within brokenness, the reconciliation and repair of broken relationships into right relationships.[481] By working toward the reparation of the sinful state of human history, the steward works toward reparation of humanity's relationship with God. At the same time, stewardly acts in and of themselves indicate right relationship and are moments of immanent reconciliation or salvation. As acts of salvation

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[478] Ibid., p.609

[479] Ibid., pp.593-594, 595-596, 601-605, 606
See also Task Force on World Hunger. Supplementary report to "And He Had Compassion on Them: The Christian and World Hunger" in *Acts of Synod 1979*. Christian Reformed Church of North America, 1979, 610-641. pp.628-629, 631, 634.

[480] Task Force on World Hunger, 1979, p.631

[481] Bokma, Karen. "Churches working together to restore creation," in *Partners: A Resource for Church Leaders from Diaconal Ministries Canada*, May 2008. pp.1-2.

and justice in a world that is fractured because of sin, stewardship is a "Kingdom" act: something which enacts, brings, or signifies the Kingdom of God on earth, the return of wholeness and perfection, a state which is always "now and not yet."

Relationship, then, is constitutive and substantive of stewardship – stewardship is a practice of reconciliation or relationship, and also has right relationship as an end goal. Right relationship is both means and end of stewardship. Despite this, among CRC constituents there is an ongoing debate, it seems, over whether stewardship *or* relationship ought to take precedence. This is articulated in terms of whether financial and material resources ought to be the main stewardly priority, or whether more subjective goods are the first concern. As well, the notion of "relationship-building" which World Renew promotes and describes as central to its development approach complicates matters, in large part, it seems, because of the variety of meanings that congregants impute to the idea of relationship.

In sum, the diaconal mandate is at the core of the existence of World Renew, and new interpretations of diaconate by the CRCNA have led members to feel concerned about and desirous of participating in diaconal work beyond their local communities. One way that this is justified and interpreted is through the discourse of stewardship and various interpretations of what that means as a response to poverty and injustice. World Renew, in turn, is bound by its own mandate to serve the church as well as the needy outside of the church, and so – as a pillar – it is obliged to somehow respond to the CRC membership.

One aspect of World Renew's response has been to educate the CRC constituency on what development – "good" development – is and means, and how they can do good in a good way, that is, a way that truly helps and does not inadvertently hurt or hinder. Part of the process of this education has been introducing the idea of relationship-building as a long-term, sustainable development strategy. For World Renew in the field this idea takes the form of "partnerships." For World Renew vis à vis the church, "relationship-building" has much to do with fundraising and education.

For the church, in turn, or its members, relationship-building or "relationship" has become incorporated into the problematic and productive discourse of global deaconship and stewardship, a tool and a term that, like "stewardship," is individualistically employed, reflecting personal perspectives at the same time as denominational principles and values. It is this latter discursive dynamic – the heterogenous usage of terms even within an already specialized, "thick"

context – that I aim to shed light on in this chapter.

II. Self and Other, Now and Not Yet: Constituent Discourse on Diakonia

Russell Daye writes that a Christian community is "the locus of the incarnation of the body of Christ, the place where God comes alive in human society."[482] Christians are called by God "to relate to the created order as Jesus related to them – through love, service and sacrifice"[483] which is a stewardly relationship. When the stewardship mandate is being fulfilled, then God's divine purpose for His creation is being met; right relationship with the poor is right relationship with God and is a mark of the reign of God.[484] Because of the imminent and ultimate nature of these biblical calls and commands to Christians, the pressure to "do" right – i.e. to do good, in the correct way – for an outward-oriented church community like the CRC is immense. This section highlights the major routes by which this obligation and calling is debated, practiced, and theorized among CRC constituents in Alberta, especially as regards the distant needy.

As the CRC's diaconal proxy and representative to the world, World Renew is under the same denominational pressure to do good well. It is scrutinized, especially, for its "stewardship" by which congregants mean a number of interrelated things. Stewardship of resources, especially fiscal, is measured in "efficiency" and "accountability," which terms also bear a variety of inferences. Resource stewardship includes for some the value and goal of sustainability, which has implications of environmental care and fiscal efficiency, in addition to relational concerns like the dignity of beneficiaries and the avoidance of dependency creation. Sustainability is also linked with the idea of "relationship-building" as a development strategy which incorporates dignity, autonomy, and discerning use of resources.

At the same time as World Renew is subject to denominational pressure and scrutiny, though, interviewees for the most part identified these expected praxes in the manner of pointing out obvious givens. Interviewees virtually unanimously expressed a trust in World Renew's methods and intents – a trust which stems from its positive track record as well as from its status as a CRC pillar and as rooted in the Christian Reformed ethno-religious tradition. This is a trust based on antithesis, the belief that the principles by which World Renew acts will lead it to do as

[482] Daye, Russell. "Theological Responses to Economic Globalization" in Bird, Frederick and Manuel Velasquez (eds.) Just Business Practices in a Diverse and Developing World: Essays on International Business and Global Responsibilities. Basingstoke, UK; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 241-264. p.248

[483] Ibid., 246

[484] Ibid., 244-248

a Reformed body ought.

In addition to these expectations and trust in World Renew as the CRC diaconal proxy is another type of response or approach to the issue of third world poverty. This is the impulse or desire to make direct contact with poor communities abroad. Levels of desired contact exist on a gradient from those who wish to travel overseas and volunteer to those for whom "direct contact" is achieved through the establishment of a "relationship" between a church group and a "community" abroad. Paradoxically, even ironically, while such arrangements may fulfill certain needs within the church, they very often undermine the principles and practices of stewardship that are put forth as simultaneous values. Nonetheless, this contact, too, is a diaconal impulse and one with which World Renew has to contend. This paradoxical situation creates a tension for World Renew as representative of and responsible to a denomination itself characterized by such tensions.

I conclude Part II with the suggestion that what seem to be contradictory demands – efficiency-based stewardship *and* accommodation of generally inefficient wishes for direct participation – might best be understood as deriving from an affect-based impulse: the need for an emotional sense of the other, to complete or round out the care arrived at intellectually. As such, what is variously referred to as a desire for "relationship," "connection," "mutuality" or something "more real" is perhaps an aspect of the congregational whole that is to be expected of any human enterprise.

i. Constituent Interpretations of Stewardship

The notion of stewardship receives a variety of interpretations within the worldviews of the CRC membership, reflecting a person's values as formed out of the admixture of church doctrine and life experience. Ideas of sustainability, frugality, and the purpose of the church in the world prove to be a substantial part of informal CRC thought on stewardship in relation to World Renew. Conversations about short-term missions were particularly revealing of stewardship beliefs and logics, as were discussions of donation and of the financial practices of NGOs, in which World Renew was compared favorably against other organizations. The different and sometimes conflicting views of stewardly behavior revealed a disjuncture and catch-22 in priorities and interpretations of stewardship among CRC constituents, one that that parallels the heterogeneity of the CRCNA.

Overwhelmingly, despite the broad variety of practices and values covered by the mantle

of stewardship as described in church documents, the term was employed with regard to appropriate use of resources. The proper management of resources by Christians and Christian organizations was a sphere of opinion and concern occupied by interviewees almost across the board, especially in the area of finances. Exemplary resource management, especially financial prudence and accountability, is a high priority for the church and all of its pillars – schools, charities, political and business organizations – which rely on the financial generosity of members to function and so must demonstrate that they are worthy of the trust that demonstrates.[485] Responsible care of God's gifts in the economic realm constitutes a core practice of the CRC community, for both theological and practical reasons. Alongside of the generous return of one's assets to God through Christian, Kingdom-oriented work, post-War immigrant habits have also played a significant role in the cultural valuation of frugality.

In my research, the centrality of financial stewardship was attested to by the number of people who explicitly mentioned that it was World Renew's fiscal management practices that made them want to donate to World Renew above other organizations, of which there is a common impression that too much is used on administration and (other) "non-essentials." Those who referred to World Renew's stewardliness then frequently went on to expand on this in economic terms: as a "strong financial record" and "low administration costs"; as knowing the value of efficiency and frugality; as being accountable; and as being a "better investment" because "funds go directly to the project" (which is another way of saying they have low administrative costs). Though the CRC origins of World Renew might be appealing, it is not guaranteed that they will garner support on those grounds alone. World Renew competes with other organizations and so it is still required to meet certain standards of behaviour, and fiscal stewardship is among the most important of these.

Efficiency

"Efficiency" was by far the most widely used descriptor for what World Renew's fiscal responsibility entails, and seems as well to cover most of what was inferred by references to World Renew's stewardly use of resources. The term was explained as meaning that "…all the money you pay goes to help, and they have the administration in place. […] And what you give goes to – one hundred percent [to projects], and not twenty percent to administration."[486] It is the

[485] Spoelstra, Martin. "The Hard Work of Stewardship" in *Partners: A Resource for Church Leaders from Diaconal Ministries Canada*, December 2011. pp.1-2

[486] Cornelis and Josina Bos

demonstration of commitment "to a high level of restoration, a high level of equipping people to be self-sufficient. ...limiting the kind of administration costs that often get other organizations into trouble.[487] There's a high level of …the funds actually being used for what we want it to be used for."[488] And, again, it is a measurement of, for example, "…how much money goes into advertising and everything else, [as opposed to] how much money actually gets abroad."[489]

Jenny Bakker is a deacon in Central Alberta who represents her church to the Northern Alberta Diaconal Conference [NADC] and traveled to Kenya in 2012 with members of the Kenya Project Committee, a special interest group that raises funds for projects in Kenya that are facilitated by World Renew and undertaken through its partners there. She talked to me about the first time she saw a presentation about the work being supported by this Committee and how deeply impressed she was. In describing the presentation she, too, mentioned values of efficiency. In this case, efficiency is a way of accomplishing goals and not getting caught up in bureaucracy and, again, administration. Her description contains as well an admiration of independent thinking and acting, and at the same time identifies a tension between necessary systems and creative innovation and the Kuyperian reforming practice of combining these for optimal efficacy:

> ...John Feddes [presented] a summary of the Kenya Cattle Project. […] I remember the picture of the guy on his motorcycle, with his little artificial insemination kit, and toodling around Kenya, and I just thought, you know, so cool – a little bit of technology, really practical, a couple of farmers out there just passing on the info and the how-to, no mega-pamphlets and fancy whatevers… […] You've got a couple of guys here [in Kenya], who know their stuff, who get it together, but they're not lone rangers running off doing their own thing. They still have respect for the system, in the sense – they get that it can work for them, they have it working for them and with them, not against, and I just really appreciate the... efficiency, the values – that there is value in it. That something actually happens, it doesn't take five years and a lot of applications and forms before something can happen.

Other respondents used a shorthand term to summarize the efficiency traits of World Renew, citing it's "Dutchness" as a likely source of its skill in this regard. When asked what draws her to support the organizations to which she donates, Janine Siebenga responded:

We pick the ones that feed people. [...] So, we're interested in taking care of the

[487] In this community this is most likely a reference to the child sponsorship scandals of the 1980s, or like discoveries of resource mismanagement and dishonesty.
[488] Elco VanderGrift
[489] Dave VanderHeide

> sick and the poor and the orphan and the widow. And we feel that World Renew does it in a way that is most efficient and effective as far as the use of our dollars, because we do want our dollars to go as far as they can. And I know there's lots of organizations out there who do all this, I just feel like if the Dutch CRC immigrant of my Oma[490] can stand behind CRWRC,[491] then I think it's probably worthy.

Peter Doornenbal, a dairy farmer in Rimbey who himself immigrated from Holland relatively recently, also cited World Renew's ethnic roots in his assessment of what distinguishes it from other aid organizations, noting, "They are pretty cost efficient, I think. Compared to others. It's Dutch background, and – they don't throw anything away."

The value of "efficiency," then, as used by CRC members, means that more work can be done, and better; and that this work leads to more innovative strategies and solutions. As an efficient organization, World Renew respects the financial sacrifice of donors by not wasting funds but also by using those funds in ways that affirm the donors' sense that World Renew does development the "right way," i.e. the way that donors understand is best. At the same time, insistence on efficiency as funds going "one hundred percent" to the field reveals an often low understanding of the actual costs and processes involved in the type of work that World Renew does and an underappreciation of the amount of administration or administrative-type work that *is* central to the success of such projects.

On a related note that, I think, sheds light on another dimension of the emphasis on efficiency within fiscal stewardship, a number of people seemed to struggle with the awareness of being part of the privileged and advantaged "haves" of the world. They expressed a desire to "give back" from within their wealth, wanting to do so in a way that doesn't waste or take for granted the "have" position, and doesn't worsen the situation of the have-nots – but also in a way that is not particularly radical, viz., does not actually upset, overturn, or disrupt the status quo in a significant way.

Cornelis Bos, a retired geologist in Calgary, was born in Holland and spent several years of his early childhood with his mother in a Japanese internment camp in Indonesia, from which experience he retains intense memories of the extreme impoverishment in which they were forced to live. Later in life, through his work with oil companies he lived for years in less advantaged

[490] Grandmother.

[491] Christian Reformed World Relief Committee; the name of World Renew until 2012. Since my Alberta interviews were conducted in 2013, many of the interviewees had not yet completed the mental – and emotional – transition from CRWRC to World Renew.

parts of the world. He put the matter of his own discomfort as a "have" frankly, saying:

> That [stark and tremendous wealth-poverty disparity in the world] is something that, as a Christian, that's one of the problems I have. I'm doing well, I made my money honestly, and wisely, but – and I make donations generously, I'm quite generous – but something is wrong, as a Christian, that you're doing well, and that people, well – the people in Africa are our neighbours now, because of communication, right – and they are starving. So can we live like this, as a society and individually? Is that Christian? [...] I have much more than I need. Is that right? If everything is a gift from God, everything is God's – so, you have to deal with it wisely. So that's the thing that I'm struggling with. And I know that over the next ten years it's better if I go on as I do rather than sell everything and give it away, but what happens in those ten years with the people that starve to death? So, what is wise? You can always find excuses not to do what you think is right.

I pressed him a bit further on this final statement, asking, "But then – what do you think is right?" To which he replied, "I don't think it's right that we have it so good. And I really make my money the right way. With trying to help people."

In these statements Bos describes personal and historical tensions deriving from his own ability and opportunity to become affluent and the fact that many people in the world do not have the chance to do the same. Though he made his money "wisely" and by "trying to help people," he nonetheless feels conflicted about having money at all. At the same time, he doesn't think that he would fix anything by just giving it all away. In fact, doing so would leave him unable to do the kind of good that he currently is able to do with his money. These last two statements are, he implied, considered the "wise" way of thinking about wealth; but "wisdom" in this context feels to him like a pretense constructed to justify the continuation of the divide between rich and poor.

Bos was not the only person to mention or imply a level of conflictedness about being a minority "have" in comparison to the vast population of "have nots" in the world. This appeared especially common among people who have traveled to poor countries and returned home. Like Bos, this feeling did not usually lead to any radical shifts of lifestyle, but largely prodded respondents to donate generously and think compassionately about the (distant[492]) poor. What positions like Bos's and these others indicate is a conflict between what they believe is stewardly

[492] Part of the interviews asked them to consider their views of poverty at home, after I'd had them describe their understanding of poverty in third world countries. In most cases the view of poverty abroad was significantly more compassionate and generous than views of poverty at home, which most felt was much less severe, and could or ought to be taken care of by government programs, which poor Canadians have the right and means to access. Even taking into account the roles of addiction and mental illness, there are, it was regularly asserted, fewer "excuses" for domestic poverty, and fewer to no cases of the extreme sorts of poverty "that one sees overseas" (which I take to mean starvation, basically).

or "wise," and what they feel is truly just but unachievable because imprudent.[493]

Jackie Born described a tension between compassion and financial sense that she had witnessed while in Kenya in 2007. She spoke about Plateau Hospital in Eldoret and a project there that had been supported by the NADC Kenya Project Committee and that was a beleaguered project and source of friction for many people involved. On their trip to Kenya as part of a World Renew Discovery Tour,[494] Born and her group met some of the project and hospital staff and learned about some of the project's complex issues. Many of these were tied to conflict between personal and financial investments in the continuation of the project. Born summarized the tensions to me in stewardship terms, noting, "It's really easy to look at statistics and numbers, and [ignore the human side of things] – on the other hand, I don't think it's stewardly, either, to keep supporting things just so that people – this sounds really harsh – but so people don't get hurt. Sometimes people need to learn to work through their hurt. It sounds harsh, but there's so many people [*sic*], there's so much need, that I think we have to be wise about that." Fiscal and relational issues overlap in Born's identification of this as a stewardship quandary, in which she questions the long-term good of what she frames as sentimentality or pity. Like Bos, Born mentions a type of "wisdom" that is required when making decisions that produce conflicted feelings about the best management of resources.

For Bos and Born stewardship as wisdom, or discernment, involves making hard choices, not being idealistic or sentimental, and using what you have in a way that brings the highest returns – material, relational, and spiritual. We can see, then, that in addition to cost-saving, fiscal stewardship and efficiency includes the matter of discernment. For those who put trust in World Renew as their representative organization there is the hope that this itself is a discerning choice; a hope that, through World Renew's discernment, in turn, one's own position within the

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[493] I mean im/prudent in the sense established by Reinhold Niebuhr in *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (New York: Harper, 1935), where he writes: "The absolutism and perfectionism of Jesus' love ethic sets itself uncompromisingly not only against the natural self-regarding impulses, but against the necessary prudent defenses of the self, required because of the egoism of others. It does not establish a connection with the horizontal points of a political or social ethic or with the diagonals which a prudential individual ethic draws between the moral ideal and the facts of a given situation. It has only a vertical dimension between the loving will of God and the will of man." p.45

[494] Discovery Tours are small group visits to project sites that World Renew organizes for North Americans in order to perpetuate interest in its development work. Visitors do not work, but spend ten to fourteen days being taken to various types of development project sites, talking to World Renew and partner staff, gaining education, experiences, and new perspectives on World Renew and its work. Each Tour has a different theme, for example the 2016 theme is "Healthy Living," and participants visit communities where HIV/AIDS support programs have expanded into small business, agricultural, and other areas of self-sufficiency for people living with HIV and AIDS. <http://worldrenew.net/sites/default/files/resources/healthlivingtour2016.pdf> [Accessed 04 April 2016]

happenstances of birth and opportunity can be mitigated, leveraged, or redeemed.

Sustainability

Another way in which stewardship as efficiency was commonly framed was as "sustainability." Key to sustainability as an efficiency practice is the elimination of "handouts," i.e., avoidance of dependency creation, which is considered a poor use of resources and also poor relational practice. In general, avoiding dependency is done by including communities in the processes of development, rather than implementing top-down programming.

Henry Bosch, retired director of the NADC, connects material efficiency with sustainability when he explains,

> I think on the field, what CRWRC does really well, and perhaps better than others ...are two things: they always listen and assess, before they act. So they will not come marching in and say, 'We know what's best for you, here you go, here's stuff, here's a program, here's ...a school, here's an overpass. [...] Two, they're always interested in community. Individuals, too, so, there's relationship-building with key people, and with families and so on; but they're interested in seeing a community flourish. [...] …so – it's just like that old saw, right? 'It's a help up, not a help – not just a handout.' And I think they do that very very well, and if you read reports and assessments, ...there's a reason why they are always praised and held up as an example sometimes, by people like CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency], grant-giving institutions, right. You know that your buck is gonna be really used well. I'm not sure about their – what their overhead is compared to others, but from my own, our own, observations, I think that's really really key.

Similarly to Henry, Barb Barthel appreciates "the fact that they [World Renew] want to bring in sustainability to different areas. [...] And that they're trying to get them to be self-sufficient, and give them some pride. They move in, but then they move out, and let them go. I think that that's a strength. Because I don't think you're helping if you're just doing the work." "Just doing the work" is more frequently expressed in the term "handouts" and a unanimous aversion to those as bad practice and as wasteful – doubly inefficient, and perpetuating social brokenness by disempowering recipients.

Harriet Guillaume associates handouts with colonial history and practices that keep people subservient and dependent. She sees World Renew as having come to understand that people "have to decide what they want, rather than having it come down from the top. And I think that's where CRWRC's changed, because it used to be always, 'This is what you need, and

we'll give it to you.' And that meant that the people were just looking for handouts. [...] I think that [having people decide for themselves is] a better way of doing things than giving gifts all the time. Because people don't learn, when they're just given."

Helping people to be able to help themselves in the long run is crucial to the quality and success of World Renew's programs. Rather than "just giving handouts ... World Renew actually tries to teach the communities that they're in… – meet [the communities] where they're at, with resources that they have on hand, so that it's a sustainable project, too." They will not offer to bring in all kinds of expensive things that require maintenance or gas or are otherwise practically unsustainable,[495] and "they also go into communities… where people are saying they want help, and want to be taught, instead of just [going in and] saying, 'we're here to help! We have our white North American ideas!'"[496]

> World Renew is appreciated as an organization that is
>
> > interested in assisting people where they're at, and helping them become who they need to be, in terms of their culture, their background, and learning skills. Giving them the skills, giving them what they need to thrive where they are. Not necessarily about us coming in there and saying we've got our act together [and so they should do it like us]. World Renew embodies an understanding that we are not gonna change who these people are, we are there to provide the resources for them to thrive, because of who they are. ...it is an organization that really strives to use resources responsibly, with a fairly high level of accountability…[497]

This series of data shows that rather than turning around and inputting its resources directly into poor economies as cash or goods, or even as direct help in the form of doing work for people, World Renew leverages – is perceived by supporters as leveraging, and is expected to leverage – its material and human resources into the work of helping communities to help themselves. With this strategy, over time World Renew is able to achieve long term, lasting results. This is a comparative evaluation, in which World Renew is thought to accomplish this while also using fewer resources than other organizations would use in the achievement of less sustainable results. Given the importance of having a strong understanding of a community in order to be able to

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[495] There is a morality tale that circles through discussions of international aid, about an organization, usually said to be from somewhere in Europe, that donated a tractor to a groups of third world farmers. After they went through the trouble and expense of purchasing the brand new tractor and importing it to the (probably African) community, they left. The next time they came to see how things were going with the tractor, they found it standing rusting in a field. It had run out of gas and no one could afford to refill it. — Or something along those general lines. I have heard a number of variations on this story.

[496] Karissa Prins (both quotes this paragraph)

[497] Elco VanderGrift

help people in this way, it would be inefficient – fiscally unstewardly – of World Renew to approach aid in a relationally unstewardly way.

Henry Visscher and Linda Schripsema have together spent a great deal of time working with Disaster Response Services [DRS; aka "the Green Shirts"], World Renew's relief service in North America. In our conversation they described a vision of helping that brings together ideas of stewardliness as both resource management and human renewal and reconciliation, redefining "service" in terms of relationships. Linda points out:

> the total purpose of [a disaster relief project] isn't just that a family has a new house. We talk about ministry – building a home, and building a family; or building a house and building a home. The bigger perspective. So, God made us in his image, and that's to be stewards of the resources we have. And we're also communal beings, relational beings. So, we find, in relating to other volunteers [or to] the beneficiary, …the beauty of unity of human beings around the world. And it's valuable in itself, I think, the 'being with,' is valuable. But it wouldn't be, without weighing carefully the stewardly thing to do, and the relational thing. It's got to be balanced.

To this, Henry added, "Whatever we do, it should not be that they have to continually depend on outside sources. They have to develop some [independence]. So if we're doing things where they keep depending on a handout, ...then we are doing something very very bad. We have to overcome that. And to me that means working together side by side, being stewardly and accountable with what resources have been given to us." Here, Henry and Linda describe the entirety of "stewardship," but in a way that reveals the prioritization within that of stewardship's material, fiscal sides.

Despite the framework of dignity and respect that is invoked, sustainability is here still measured significantly with relation to the utilization of resources – sustainability as an instrumental value. Dependency creation is bad for humans and it is a poor use of resources and assets on the part of NGOs that do it. Therefore CRC members prefer to support projects that deliver long-term empowerment and eventual independence. These are respectful of human dignity, and they reflect the economic values and practices of the donors: investing wisely; not wasting; recognizing opportunity; appreciating one's good fortune (or, blessings); and giving back to God from what is his, according to these stewardly principles. The emphasis on sustainability as a priority for overseas and domestic aid reflects values summarized by constituents as "stewardship," "efficiency," and "wisdom."

Stewardship as the sustainability described above – that is both relationally and

financially astute – is still stewardship as efficiency, and the relational aspect is justified as a way of helping resources be used more efficiently. This is not to say that those who argue for sustainability on efficiency grounds are facetious or purely calculating when it comes to the relational side of this strategy. It is important to them to value relationship and to recognize that dependency is a form of brokenness. The primary stewardship *goal*, though, is material efficacy and efficiency, toward which relationship is a crucial means, that is, a strategy.

Overlapping in language with sustainability as a type of efficiency is the language of "relationship-building," also tied to sustainability. Unlike the role of relationship in sustainability as efficiency, where relationship is instrumental to "stewardly" use of resources, in "relationship-building" relationship is both means and end – and primarily considered in terms of an end.

"Relationship-Building"

Different from sustainability as a form of efficiency, sustainability within the context of relationship-building is a process of building trust. The practice and process is of instrumental and intrinsic value. In one person's terms,[498] it is the "deed" that ought to precede word, as in the CRC outreach axiom, "word and deed."[499] Relationship-building is a long-term investment, establishing interpersonal connections for dividends in credibility and dependability and not necessarily efficiency (at least not immediately evident or guaranteed). As an aspect of development it is described as a process by which community members gain confidence that, in the words of Ron Prins, "you're living the Christian life, and... – they can trust that you're true to your word." He continued, "Development is such an elusive thing. Like, what you're really trying to transfer [through development work] is – building confidence that they can do it [i.e. improve their situation]. And I think somehow you're trying to do that through building relationships, and giving knowledge." In other words, in order to be a legitimate source of knowledge and *encouragement* – a very diaconal practice – development practitioners must first demonstrate that they are trustworthy. Within this understanding, relationship-building in many senses *is* development.

Development practitioners come in as modeling trustworthy authority – not *over* people, but rather demonstrating knowledge and skill that works, and (so) helping cultivate the recognition and encouragement of those kinds of assets in a community. (This kind of relational

[498] Jack Siebenga.

[499] This axiom is described in detail in Part III, as part of the analysis of the CRC cultural-doctrinal import of "doing."

cultivation is a form of stewardship identified in the Ordination and other diaconal documents referenced in Part I.) The practice of building and modeling trust in a relationship is also valuable in a number of other ways. For one, good relationships are, in and of themselves, important to quality of life, to flourishing, and to happy, fulfilled living. Good organizational (and other) relationships are assets in themselves, and thus developing and modeling them in a community where social trust and confidence has been degraded is itself a development practice.

For relationships between World Renew and local NGOs and community members, establishing trust relationships helps avoid inadvertent "top-down" or "outside-in" planning, and instead creates opportunity for genuine conversation. Interpersonal and international economic disparity, for example, can result in a sense of inequality that can undermine field relations. Real relationships and conversation, some interviewees suggested, can mitigate some of that sense of inequality.[500]

The establishment of relationships with partners and communities is understood by some constituents as a form of encouragement, in the diaconal sense, and especially when it comes to disaster relief. Jenny Bakker described her understanding of World Renew in these sorts of terms:

> ...if people don't feel abandoned, they feel encouraged. If you've been through a disaster, and even if they have no physical help for you, but there's someone to listen to you, you don't feel abandoned. To come alongside of someone in their need, in their sorrow... I think that that's what Christ did, that's what the church is called to do, and I think that CRWRC is part of that arm.

In other words, though a big part of what World Renew does involves distribution of and help with material goods, their simple presence, their "being there," is also considered an essential act.

Edwin Dening, with fifteen years of disaster relief experience in Haiti under his belt, while recognizing the necessity of measurable goals and results, stated that in his opinion World Renew's priorities "should be all about relationship-building." Rather than focus on end results and targets, a tendency that inspires much ill-considered and unsustainable aid practice (especially that of handouts), Dening would argue for a strategy that prioritizes a process of building trust, rapport, and mutual respect, and that will result in more long-term solutions with in-built properties of sustainability, such as ownership, knowledge, and problem-solving skills.

Other, differently articulated, valuations of "relationship-building" were also premised on the conviction that relationship-building is a foundation for development that prioritizes the

[500] Nicholas Scott and Annette Wierstra.

dignity of the people involved over quick achievement of aid results. Greta Minnesma described World Renew's field methods in the strongly relational terms of the Great Commandment, to love one's neighbour as oneself. "If we were them, how would we want to be treated?" she asks, "if we were them, what would we need? We wouldn't want them to just dump food on us, and make us subservient, we'd want them to make us independent." Similarly, Evert Gritter, a retired pastor and university chaplain, linked handouts and earmarked charitable donations to colonial missionary practices. "We have," he said,

> an awful history as a church of trying to use money to convert people. I think it's un-Christian. We can't use our money to try to convert people. Not with the sword, but not with money either. If we have to win them, we have to win them by being neighbours. [...] Caring for each other and especially for people in need. Without strings attached. Because if you go through the whole history of the church, we've done that so often and so much. [...] Sure you can convert the whole world if you have enough power and enough swords, but that isn't conversion, or Christianity. We may not do that with money either. And money is pretty powerful. Money that's given to us is meant to support life, to bless people, to strengthen good things.[501]

For Pastor Heather Cowie of New Hope CRC in Calgary, the stewardly use of resources can be framed as sustainability in the sense that long-term, sustainable projects are "a better investment" than short-term, relief oriented ones. Rather than efficiency, sustainability and investment were employed in this conversation in relational, Kingdom terms – referring to holistic and lasting change of people and communities. Using "transformation" as analogous to goals like renewal and reconciliation, Pastor Cowie continued, "Even in my relationships in the church as a pastor, activities or conversations or programs that don't support transformation are really – like, what's really the point?" While sustainability in this sense does not exclude material efficiency, it is clear that for Pastor Cowie that is not the definitive factor.

In sum, then, the analysis of stewardship discourse so far demonstrates its colloquial messiness, its interestedness, its sincerity, and the blurred and overlapping fuzzy types of loose considerations involved in its use by supporters of World Renew as a standard and a goal. The

[501] Like most issues, of course there are people who make arguments for both sides. Several people mentioned that for them, or in certain circumstances, sending money only and not worrying about going oneself or really doing much beyond that, is perfectly fine. Maybe this is all that one is capable of at a point in time, maybe it's all one will ever be capable of, and in some cases it is probably the most help to just send money. Greta Minnesma summed this perspective up well, saying, "...hopefully the organization that you give your money to does a good job with your money. Because they understand those people better than I do. But it still allows me to show them Christian love, and to give them some kind of help."

sub-category of sustainability, alone, involves an overlap of stewardship as resource-management and stewardship as restoration of right relationship. Though values of dignity and respect are definitely sincere, it is important that resource efficiency be a proven part of these projects and, for many, that relational goals be legitimized in terms of resource efficiency. One might legitimately observe that sustainability goals and values seem to display, here, a successful method of including all aspects of stewardship, and I would agree. It would also be disingenuous to suggest that those concerned with material resource efficiency are disinterested in or dismissive of holistic stewardship concerns, or that those emphasizing relationship do so at the expense of frugality. At the same time, to arrive at these observations alone would belie the existence of a significant divergence and tension within the church (and even within individual church members) regarding stewardship priorities.

The following discussion of short-term missions anticipates what becomes more clear in the discussions of special interest groups and volunteering: that while holistic stewardship matters, within that there is expressed an implicit hierarchy of values. "Efficiency" in the sense of employing resources toward accomplishing a material goal is overall more highly valued than the accomplishment of relational ends. Or, one might say, the primary directive for the use of resources – including donations of goods and time to World Renew – tends to be material, and adjusted to include relational goods, not vice versa. That said, overall the diaconal mandate that seems to take greatest priority (as per gathered evidence, not necessarily formal church statements) is the development and benefit of the church itself, specifically its members, with or without resource efficiency or relationality. These benefits are thought to be acquired through participation in work with the poor in developing countries, in ways described below.

Given doubts cast from various directions regarding the actuality of benefits accrued by such participation, however, and the small effect these critiques have had on constituent preferences, I suggest that in many ways referral to the diaconal development of the church body has become a way to justify or legitimate the satisfaction of the desire among congregants for emotional, or affective, experience. That in some cases what appears to be efficiency values trumping right relationship is in fact the affective impulse trumping stewardship altogether. To make this observation is not to disparage these basic motivations but rather to suggest that this is a useful thing to consider when observing what appear to be contradictory aspects of a religious culture that so strongly emphasizes *continuity* between word and deed, and when examining

purportedly religious motivations for volunteering abroad.

ii. Short-term Missions, Special Interest Projects, Volunteering, and Mutuality

Until recently, diaconal work was the task of ordained individuals. As described, however, the diaconal mandate has been expanded to include the church as a whole. Members are asked not just to donate, but to also reconsider their global social position and responsibilities in light of the biblical commandment to care for the world's needy – a group which is increasingly poor, whose situation can seem impossible, overwhelming and strange, and who live, often, literally halfway around the world. In what way, as a body of deacons, are North American Christians supposed to serve the bottom billions?

Aside from, or in addition to, emphases on stewardship as efficiency and as relationship-building in the context of a transformative or holistic development approach, there were those who employed the idea of "relationship" and related terms and concepts in the context of describing direct contact or connections – established or projected – to impoverished communities in developing nations, and projects aimed at helping them. This type of connection was established through short-term volunteering abroad, and through what I have called "special interest groups" – small church committees who initiate and support their own small development project partnership abroad. (Some were also established through participation in Discovery Tours, introduced by World Renew in part as a response to the issues I describe here. This initiative is further described in Part IV.) The following sections show how this type of relational emphasis, while necessary for the church as a diaconal body in the world, also complicates matters. Beyond explaining World Renew's strategy of partnerships, the goal of relationship has expanded into a route of ingress for lay participation in World Renew's work.

For many, the term "relationship" marked the act of coming out from behind the offering plate and the pew and extending a hand for connection, material or spiritual, to an often geographically unreachable other. Part stewardship and Kingdom goal, and part educative vocabulary, relationship discourse as embraced and employed by constituents is a complicated matter for World Renew. As World Renew supporters learn relationship rhetoric and ideas, they seek to implement and embody these in their own diaconal efforts according to a spectrum of lay interpretations of the idea. As with stewardship, interpretations of relationship are contingent on a person's existing predilections and capabilities.

Relationship discourse, explicit and implied, infuses consideration of aid-based ties between CRC members in Alberta and people in developing countries, and how best to approach global poverty as an individual and church. In many cases the term was employed to convey that which exceeds the bounds of a fiscal-material basis of connection between congregants, World Renew, and distant beneficiaries. Cross-threaded with formal diaconal, stewardship, and development vocabularies utilized in the church, discourse of relationship and relationship-building invokes the doctrinal and ethical legitimacy of these praxes. Further, discourse on relationships reveals a distinct tension, for many, between what one believes is the best course of action and what one truly desires to do. This is not a particularly unique type of tension, but it is of interest here insofar as it becomes externalized as demands on an international aid organization.

"Be with" is a phrase used to signify part of the importance of physically traveling to a place and contributing one's time and energies, or otherwise directly connecting with a place or project. "Being with" is synonymous with "coming alongside of" and "walking with" the poor; a relational process and practice that many people understand to various degrees of articulation as vital to World Renew's work – its ethics and its success. For people who encourage and participate in short-term volunteering, missions trips, and special partnerships between churches in North America and communities in developing countries, "being with" shows care in a way that cheques and bank transfers might not, and imparts a degree of warmth into the transactions of aid. It is also thought to bring certain kinds of personal moral benefits to the volunteer or donor that "just money" cannot. The terminology of "being with" and "coming alongside of" people was used repeatedly, and is even used in the title of a book – *Walking With the Poor* – that was cited by one person as "kind of the CRWRC bible."[502] This type of contact was frequently opposed to that described as "rescuing or saving," "telling or imposing," or "throwing money at" beneficiaries of aid. "Being with" was also placed in opposition to financial generosity described frequently as "just money." "Just money" has a dual meaning, referring to money alone, with no other type of support accompanying it; and the deprecating sense that the gift of money, while fine, is in truth somehow insufficient. The disparaging tone in which "just money" was uttered is the same as that used for "handouts," and "just giving money" is certainly the literal action of

[502] Roy Berkenbosch, talking about Bryant Myers's Walking With the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011[1999] (cited by me later in this chapter).

handing out.

"Being With" and Short-term Missions

Conversation regarding aid and poverty frequently led to discussion of what are referred to variously as "short-term missions," volunteer missions, youth volunteer trips, or youth missions, and conflicting views within the church regarding these. Short-term missions are opportunities, mostly for young (undergraduate aged) people, to volunteer for a project in a developing country (usually some kind of manual labor). Besides the work, it is an opportunity to meet local people who benefit from and work on the projects, to experience a different culture, and have firsthand contact with poverty of a kind not generally visible at home.[503] The debate over short-term missions is articulated in terms of whether they are "a waste of money" or "a valuable experience," or whether these views can somehow both be true. The discussion of short-term missions that follows is meant to encapsulate in brief a dynamic wherein, inasmuch as efficiency and holistic sustainability are real values, and inasmuch as people do want to be of real service, the evidence of collective CRC actions suggests that what is desired *more* than these things, what is a *higher* priority for the CRC overall, is to be able to go (or send their children) to poor contexts in order to serve in person – whether or not that service is truly helpful, whether or not it is economically or fiscally logical, and whether or not they are actually needed. This is a microcosm of a larger tendency within the church as a whole when it comes to overseas poverty, a tendency with which World Renew, as the proxy and *de facto* mediator of the church as "global diaconate," must contend. This tendency of the CRC membership to choose to go, I will argue, reaffirms their sense of identity as Christians, specifically as Reformed, and coheres with a number of aspects of the current CRC lifeworld in Alberta and North America.

Short-term missions are viewed positively as a way for the church to establish and maintain relationships with distant communities and, especially, as a valuable part of Christian education about the world, of transformative benefit for the people who go. Transformation is thought to occur in the form of increased awareness of how "blessed" or advantaged people are in the West, and of some of the difficulties and complexities of poverty and aid. When volunteers return home and share what they have experienced, it is hoped that this will increase awareness in

[503] A few popular Canadian examples in the CRC community are: SERVE, with Youth Unlimited <https://www.youthunlimited.org/serve/>, which is a local / national opportunity; HANDS, through Edudeo <https://edudeo.com/hands/> — which volunteers at Christian schools in developing countries in South America; and the Honduras Water Project facilitated through the Micah Centre at King's University College <http://micahcentre.ca/honduras-water-project/>. [All accessed 22 June 2015]

others as well. Trips are described as an investment in the kids and therefore in the future of the church and church leadership. Dividends are imagined as less wastefulness, increased likelihood of commitment to long-term missions, more generous future donors, improved relationship with God, and more commitment to volunteering at home. In all, the hoped for shift in attitude engendered by such trips is well summarized by what Henry Bosch calls a "deeper sense of servanthood," or stewardship.

Some proponents of missions trips viewed "just giving money" as the "easy way" to help. They felt that going to a site in person has more value in terms of one's own satisfaction, certainly, but also in terms of developing a mutual appreciation between cultures and mutual feelings of ownership (in cases where both visitors and locals worked on a church-sponsored project together). To them, giving money but not self, or not presence, amounts to a shirking of duty. Though the entire church cannot go, it is vital that as much as possible a physical interpersonal connection be maintained.

Opposing these are arguments that these trips are expensive and inefficient, that the money spent on flights and room and board would be better spent if sent over on its own or used to hire experts, rather than diverted to fundamentally unhelpful – perhaps even harmful – excursions. Unintentionally, short-term mission groups may do more harm than good. Not only are the people who go – again, usually youths without any particularly relevant skill set – not usually that helpful on the ground, but volunteers usurp work in locations often plagued by high unemployment. At the same time, they are guests from the West and often bring with them a lot of money for the projects, which factors lend them a certain local cachet. This can spark local jealousies, mismanagement or inefficiency, or simply disrupt relationships and systems that then have to be repaired.

Further, perhaps even more trenchant, concerns include the view that short-term missions reflect a disempowering, paternalistic view of the other that assumes the incapacity of the poor to accomplish projects on their own. Such a top-down approach does not benefit either party, and provides neither short-term nor long-term goods. There is also the critique that such trips are effectively a commodification not just of aid and volunteer experiences, but of poverty and the poor themselves, a notion compactly expressed by the derogatory label, "Christian Tourism."

The commodification of aid and poverty, in turn, tends to generate a superficial and simplistic view of poverty, wherein people believe that they have gained a deeper understanding

than they have. Roy Berkenbosch of The Micah Centre at The King's University College, which coordinates an annual student volunteer trip to Honduras, who is a former employee of World Renew in Bangladesh, explained:

> ...one of the liabilities of these short-term encounters is that people get a simplistic view of things. [...] So they're gonna say, 'yeah, these people are poor, but they're happy! They're really poor, but they have a really good community life, etc.' So, they get a simplistic view of poverty, and then they think, 'oh, they don't really need us, they're doing good, they're happy, the climate's good, they don't get snow – '. So… it's kind of like a placebo, in that, you think you've seen it, but you haven't really seen it; you think you've experienced it, but you haven't. [...] Before, you didn't think you understood, so you were still open to learning. But now you know.

And so, instead of true learning, superficial misperceptions become entrenched.[504] Citing a 2007 quantitative study, Berkenbosch also critiqued the view that short-term missions are even actually effective as a transformative experience (at least in terms of future charitable giving). First of all,

> It's not that easy [for volunteers] to be useful, in very very short-term. And it does displace funds, and [sociologist Kurt VerBeek has] discovered – and he's not the only one... – that, well,… Not only does it not make much difference to the Hondurans... it also doesn't make that much of a difference in the lives of people that go. They don't give measurably more after than they did before… .[505]

In part, this latter point can be linked to misperceptions of poverty that arise – especially the view that poor people are happy and don't need help after all.

One interviewee, a former World Renew employee who chose to participate confidentially, finds the notion of transformation linked to short-term missions to be false, saying, "it sets up expectations that are totally unrealistic. …we're so embedded in our culture that we can't just immediately change because we had some kind of cultural or personal experience." The interviewee wondered, further, if personal change is "the wrong idea," when "the church has always been about the other. It's never about me. It's always about the other." Even if such

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[504] These observations were confirmed by a number of my respondents' descriptions of poverty abroad, several of whom talked about the "happy" "simple" lives of the very poor; and others who had participated in short-term missions and openly admitted no change in their own lives or in the lives of other participants, as far as they had heard or observed.

[505] VerBeek, Kurt Alan. "Lessons from the Sapling: Review of Quantitative Research on Short-term Missions." July 2007 DRAFT Online. Department of Sociology, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI. <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/sociology/faculty/ver-beek/kurt/Lessonsfromasapling.pdf> [Accessed 30 March 2016] pp.5, 13
Nor, adds VerBeek, are they measurably closer to God, or statistically more likely enter the mission field later in life, or less ethnically or economically biased, or any of the changes normally cited as rationales for short-term missions.

experiences *were* in fact transformative for participants, the notion that this should override all other considerations – of effectiveness, the good of the other, or what view of the other is involved – would or ought to, in this respondent's view, be alien to the church in practice.

Despite these serious criticisms and the misgivings expressed even by supporters, short-term missions remain a well-established and generally accepted rite of passage for young people in the CRCNA. Barb Barthel's explanation of the matter is representative. When she thinks about

> things like sending kids on mission projects, ...and all the money spent on plane tickets, that's when I kind of wonder, ok, really? Why don't we collect this money, then, and send it over? Really, we have to say, who are we really investing in? This is an investment in our kids, and just, to give them a kind of different experience, of a different culture and a different life; poverty –- that's really who we're investing in. They [people overseas] can build their own schools.

Margaret Schoonderwoerd similarly commented, "you can say, well, that's an awful lot of money, that money could have gone to some worthy cause. But there's more to it than that. These kids are all bonding together in a nice, wonderful Christian environment, they're learning leadership skills, and [you don't know] what's gonna happen in the future. Can you put a price on that?"

As with these two statements, critiques sometimes conclude by saying that the church should admit that such trips are not "really" about the communities that are being "helped," but are rather an investment in the church's own people. Most of my interviewees who commented on this issue thought that "as long as people realize"[506] what is "really" going on here, and "don't glorify the thing,"[507] the trips can be harmless and a good experience. Following his comments regarding the church's orientation to the Other, for example, my confidential interviewee reflected,

> on the other hand, we live in a global world, it's culturally interdependent, cultures are interfacing all the time, and so the idea that we shouldn't go to another culture is also not acceptable. I think God's created cultural diversity, and we can celebrate the great things in all cultures. And one way to do that is to interact with them. But then it has to do with our approach, and our entry, and how we interact; our posture, who we think we are and why we're going. That all has to be revisited.

Issues with short-term missions – the conflict of interest between what is in practical terms the most stewardly use of financial and human resources for the benefit of recipient communities, and the type of participation most meaningful or desirable or interesting to congregants (whose

[506] David VanderHeide
[507] Bob Barthel

diaconal development is also a concern of the church) – are repeated in various forms in the several other means by which congregants seek to "relate" to beneficiaries beyond the offering plate. I will review these and the ways in which the conflict manifests, and then move to Part III in which I assess some of the motives for these particular interests and how they can be seen as arising out of certain lifeworld dynamics.

Special Interest Groups, Partnerships, and Volunteering

Special interest groups and "partnerships" are two types of direct relations between Alberta churches, or a group of people within a church, and groups or "communities"[508] in needy parts of the world. The first, special interest groups or committees, are often comprised of people who are unwilling or unable to travel themselves, but who still want to be involved beyond donating; to "do something" that they feel is useful and substantial. "Partnerships," on the other hand, tend to be whole church investments, though sometimes these are managed by special interest committees. Both types of relation are often facilitated by World Renew as a proxy or mediator (though sometimes CRC groups use a different organization to mediate, instead) and may or may not include personal visits by Albertans or by members of the overseas community to Alberta.

Through World Renew, a church or group will be introduced to a community where World Renew is also working, and then continue to communicate on a semi-independent basis, though usually the overseas community also continues to partner with World Renew. For example, Ubuntu, based out of New Hope CRC in Calgary, partners with the community of Kamanzi, in Malawi. World Renew had been working in this community before the group at New Hope formed, and they have facilitated a more personalized link between Ubuntu and Kamanzi. Ubuntu, in turn, raises funds that go specifically to World Renew's work in Kamanzi, and also contributes directly to World Renew's overhead costs in order to mitigate the extra work and administration their project requires.[509]

I was surprised to learn that there are actually quite a few of these arrangements, as I had expected people for the most part to express their concern with global issues through the conduit of World Renew. While this remains at least partly true for most CRC members, who tend to prefer World Renew especially for disaster donations, there is a significant amount of *additional*

[508] This is the word that people used, but it is not clear what they understand by it. Church community? Neighbourhood? Village? Parish? Self-help group?

[509] A breakdown of Ubuntu's project funding and vision can be found here: New Hope Calgary: Ubuntu. <http://www.newhopechurch.ca/page.php?pgid=ministrypage&itemid=10> [Accessed 05 June 2015.]

involvement through various special interests. These direct partnerships differ significantly from World Renew's own strategic partnerships with local NGOs and other community organizations. In a way, these special arrangements parallel the "direct contact" MO of short-term missions, but without the volunteering component. If people do "go" to visit partner communities, they do not go to work.

These relationships – experiential as well as semi-imagined – between Alberta churches, special interest groups, and needy communities in distant places – are initiated out of hopes and intentions above and beyond simple fundraising. Members of special interest groups and committees engage intimately, with strong personal investment, and the hope for connections somehow "more" than "just" money. This desire to reach and connect beyond the standard mediated position of most constituent donors does not necessarily include a desire to travel in person to "the field" or the partner community, but it does include a desire for reciprocity or "mutuality." Not in kind, but in affirmation and edification.

The originating impetus for establishing church partnerships or special interest groups seems to arise out of the personal experiences and conviction of one or two people in a congregation, who are so compelled to do something that simply donating to World Renew feels insufficient. These individuals then inspire and gather together others interested in directly supporting a particular place, group, region, or issue. This interest was described to me predominantly in terms of wanting to contribute something more than "just money," and in terms of making the purpose of donations "more real."

Pastor Heather Cowie and Nicole Wilson are each involved with a separate special interest project: Pastor Cowie with Ubuntu, at the Calgary church where she is a pastor, and Nicole with Partners in Hope, a project co-sponsored by two other Calgary churches. Both of them frame the projects as seeking to forge bonds beyond what is established by donating money. Pastor Cowie remarked that "from the beginning most of the people that connected with [Ubuntu] really felt invested for the long-term, rather than saying 'let's write a cheque and be done with it.'" Nicole expanded on this theme, saying, "people love to be helped, but it means so much more when they have a relationship, and it's not just throwing money at somebody, you're actually helping to build each other up." She added,

> I think so often that's why a lot of the 'help Africa' projects have failed, because people throw money or build something that won't even work for their community, and it dies and that's just a big waste of money, and it could have done so much

> more. But that's what we didn't want Partners in Hope to be, we didn't want it to be just this place that we keep throwing money at them. We wanted to be able to empower them, and to see how much they can do themselves. And really change that approach to 'saving Africa,' quote-unquote.

Another source, who chose to remain confidential, said,

> …rather than being the people that come in and rescue someone, you're coming in to say, 'we want to find out more about you than just what you need us to do for you. So, we want to know how you live, we want to live where you live, and know who you are.' And why is that important? I think because ...as people we crave that – relationship is just primary. How can you carry on with things unless you are in some kind of relationship with people. [...] But that's the hard part. Because it's easy to say, yeah, I'll help, I'll donate – and you still need that, you can't know everybody of whatever cause you donate to, but if you have a little bit more of the story, then it's good.

Herm and Grace Stolte, of River Park CRC in Calgary, talked to me about their church's partnership with a village in Sierra Leone through the organization Cause Canada. Herm explained, "the group from our church wanted to link up with one village to make a difference in one village instead of just spreading our help willy nilly all over the place and never seeing any real results... [...] I think, donors are more willing to donate if they can see the direct results. So, we know that there's a little village called Afya, and it has a school that we made... ." He added, "we haven't cut back on CRWRC, we just added this one on. ...there's needs out there, might as well share what we have."

In short, the goal of these groups and partnerships is to make a difference – and not just any difference, but one that group members are able to personally see, quantify, vouch for, and be encouraged and edified by. Given the fact that such partnerships are often with communities that World Renew is working in already, it seems that, as with short-term missions, the most significant difference being made is for congregants at home.

The sense of making a tangible difference, for example, helps a congregation feel more engaged with, and so interested in, contributing to such efforts. Regarding New Hope CRC, Pastor Cowie explained that since it is not a traditional or well-established CRC, and most of its congregation are not multi-generational or Dutch CRC community members, there is less collective knowledge of, and inherited support for and trust in World Renew than there tends to automatically be among members of older CRCs. So for this congregation establishing a separate, specific partnership was a way of cultivating engagement with and trust in the work of

World Renew, “where maybe we could, in a sense, build some relationship over time, rather than just sending money generally and feeling like it's helping, but you can't [see] – there's no, kind of, personal engagement.”

This feeling of engagement was also expressed as things – projects, people, needs – feeling or seeming more “real,” due to this closer connection. One confidential source compared the difference made by a relationship with a far off community to the change that occurs in one’s mind when overcoming a stereotype:

> ...it [getting to know about a community] also makes it more real. …you can form a lot of prejudices or preconceived notions about situations and people, it's even like visiting someone in prison. You can say they deserved to be there; if you just overhear [what their crime is] – but when you meet a person face to face, you realize, 'if I – ’ […] Unless you do that ...you can just… think they got what they deserved. [...] But it's hard to maintain that hard-nosed attitude when you talk to the person, and know their name... .

Others echoed these ideas. In Herm Stolte’s eyes, getting to know people in a more personal way lends their needs more immediacy: “Sunday School kids wrote letters to the students in the school [that his church supports via Cause Canada], and got responses back. It's just a way of making it more real, instead of a nebulous 'out there someplace' they're having these problems getting food.” The people they are feeding become people that they know. Matt VanderKooy, a congregant involved with Partners in Hope through Hillside Church in Calgary, said that the smaller, more intimate opportunity to connect changed the skepticism he had held toward aid and the idea that sending money could be of real value: “The stories allowed us to connect with real people [...] once we started seeing those stories, it really felt like that money, as little as it is that we're sending over, is really making a difference in peoples' lives.”

Of note is the degree to which these sorts of decisions and movements, along with opinions on the work of World Renew, are linked to “feelings” and senses of things – what one might consider the emotional or affective imagination that individuals and congregants have of the recipients of their donations. Outside of the emotional or imaginative realm of donors, the relationships – communication, interaction, physical proximity, conversation, intimacy, friendship, etc. – between congregations and their project communities have not really altered from the “less real” donor relations held previously. Speaking to people in Kenya, there were few if any who made an ongoing intellectual or emotional connection between goods and services they received from local NGOs and the existence of individuals who collaborate in the West to

send funds toward those NGOs (or the larger bodies from which funds funnel to NGOs). Similarly, among congregants in Alberta, despite the intensive focus on fundraising and becoming informed and engaged, there was overall a low grasp of the processes to and by which their projects connect, and little substantial knowledge of the "communities" with whom a mutuality is desired. Imaginatively, however, a relationship was achieved – or believed to have been achieved. The processes of partnering establish a largely fictive, narrative connection, which people understand – perhaps prefer to understand – as "more real" than what is in fact real.

This feeling of engagement, the sense that a smaller project is more real, more immediate, more relatable, and relevant – was unanimous among those who supported separate partnerships financially as church members, and those who were on the committees of such partnerships, as well as by anyone who had had opportunity to see or experience or participate in work abroad. Involved or not, most interviewees voiced some version of disliking the idea or practice of "just giving money" (or "throwing money at" or "just giving them stuff"), in combination with the feeling that sending money feels too impersonal and disengaged and that you can't really see or know what's happening with it. Donating via this type of partnership, they felt, allows more insight and it made them feel more confident and enthusiastic about the use of funds.

Critiques of this type of more direct relationship in part focus on the inefficient use of resources. In the case of special church-based partnerships, the "inefficiency" derives from the fact that there already exists a well-run, well-established organization, World Renew, that has staff, relationships, and infrastructure in place to streamline processes and make money go much further than these new partnerships can. It is suggested that it is wasteful to choose *not* to use the World Renew resources. Separate but related, even as she does support Ubuntu, Pastor Cowie is conflicted about her church's decision to pursue overseas engagement in this way, rather than via World Renew. Though in the end she has decided that it matters that her church feels engaged with the work, she is conflicted about the values that are encouraged by indulging the desire for personal connection among the people in her church. The downside of the approach that her church is taking, she said, is that it "sort of caters to the individualism of our society, that people have to *see* the benefit, before they'll invest in something [like this]. I think that is the reality, and it's not a bad thing to help people see the benefit, but I sometimes think there's an immaturity to that kind of giving that's tied directly to a result." That said, accountability is also important, as is responsibility in giving, and so, she continued, in that sense it matters that people look for that

and can be motivated by that: “But the flipside is that [means] that people don't give, if they can't see or hear that story. And I don't know that that's always a good thing.”

Difficulties with volunteers for World Renew parallel to an extent Pastor Cowie’s conflicted assessment of special interest projects. On one hand, it seems like a positive way for people to engage in important work and cultivate the impulse to give of oneself and be interested in an other; at the same time, much volunteer work is designed to meet the strictures and requirements of the volunteers themselves, many of whom expect personal enjoyment and satisfaction from the experience. For World Renew, as much as people might trust and support the organization, it is also frequently viewed by congregants in proprietary terms as existing to – to a degree – help fulfill personal visions of what it means to help people and participate.

In my interviews I discovered a kind of “boutique” or “personalized” attitude toward volunteering, the sense that volunteer opportunities ought to be structured around individual desire or preferences. These preferences seem to take precedence over what might be a more effective outreach, or what might be more needed. For example a number of people expressed dissatisfaction with existent opportunities, because they did not offer the kinds of roles they were interested in. These people wanted to go and work, not “sit around”; to use their skills and not just “lick stamps.” Some were uncomfortable with being asked to go and pray with people, preferring to do something more physical to contribute; others did not want to endure hot weather, long travel, etc. As retiree and overseas volunteer Lorraine VanderValk explained, “you've got a wealth of [retired] adults, who have all different kinds of abilities, and… a lot of the baby boomers, that's kind of what they want to do, right. They want to volunteer, they want to do something that they feel is valuable. Not just stuff envelopes or lick stamps, or something – you really want to do something that you feel, you make a difference.” Another, confidential, respondent confirmed this about herself and her husband, saying, “it [going “overseas to Africa” or elsewhere to help in some way] would be kind of an interesting way to give back. And that's kind of our thing, too, that if we want to travel anyway when we're retired, which we definitely do, then why not incorporate work-travel. So you go and work for a while, and then see your surroundings, and then go home again.” Roy Berkenbosch, too, observed that “there's an interesting dynamic going on as the baby boom generation is entering retirement. They've got their houses all paid for, and now a lot of them want to give back somehow. It's this feeling of, 'now I'm available to be of service.' They look around, 'where shall I serve,' and they settle on

CRWRC. There's a lot of pressure on CRWRC to create opportunities for that demographic... ."

Volunteer demands are not just in terms of going, but also for how long, and to do what. Marty Minnesma – in his late twenties – said that he would like to volunteer, but not through a program. He would rather:

> just go into some really poor area and then just teach at a kids school, like a community school or whatever. […] I just don't want to use programs to do that, because they tend to get volunteers every week, a new set of volunteers. I'd rather go and commit to a full season in one place, that isn't associated with any kind of program like that [using his own funds]. So. I don't know. [...] I wouldn't want to have to commit to a certain amount of time. I'd want to leave when I got tired of it, I guess. Which is maybe selfish, but, that's ok. It's hard to say. I'm always worried that some programs are like – they aren't really in need, they're just using the program to get stuff that they want, that they don't necessarily need. I'd want to be able to choose what I'm doing myself.

Another, confidential, interviewee said that if he were to participate in a project,

> they better give me two weeks of work. Because I don't want to go there for a vacation [and] I'm not the one to go into the neighbourhood and start to socialize and kind of build relationships and then leave. That doesn't work with me. [...] I like to be friendly with the people, but... – selfish enough, but I don't want to have to be tied with them now for the rest of my life and have to write them letters and that kind of stuff. [...] I'm just not [...] really an outgoing person.

Though there's perhaps little to be done or said about peoples' mental and physical comfort zones or capabilities, the critical point here is that while these respondents express a desire to be of service to the needy and the church, this desire – *their* desire – is not only to be of service but to be so in certain ways (and not in certain others). The focus, in effect, is on what they want. And what they want is to "be with" people by "doing" things for them – a set of desires the shape and provenance of which I discuss in Part III at length. For now, I would like to underscore once again the observation – established at short-term missions, repeated in special interest groups and boutique volunteering – that participation in poverty alleviation work is a practice that is by and large for the benefit and enjoyment of volunteers and donors, and only thinly veneered with a legitimating diaconal premise.

The confidential respondent mentioned earlier, who has spent a significant amount of time in the field on behalf of World Renew, suggested that the "Western" cultural way of "helping" or "supporting" people is by *doing*. Western culture, this person has found, is "a doing culture. We relate to people by doing things. That's where this idea comes from, 'we're gonna build a school

for somebody.'" However, speaking in particular about Africa, the African cultural way of helping, or supporting, people is a far more relational model:

> ...when you ask Africans, ... I've heard it so many times, they'll say, 'Walk with me.' That's all you need to do. Just walk with me. […] And the African notion is more of a relational culture, we relate together and we relate together by being present, by walking, by sharing each other's joys and burdens, worshiping together, getting to know each other, developing friendships.

Despite this difference, observed and acknowledged by World Renew and others, it is extremely difficult to convince CRC constituents of the legitimacy of the African cultural preference, or the legitimacy of going and *not* doing. Though this respondent was the only person to make this observation in such a direct and articulate form, others described experiences and impulses that support this assertion of cultural difference. One of the goals of the small partnerships of special interest groups, for example, is to come to a better understanding of development work, and of what is truly needed – as well as truly desired – by their partner communities. In working toward this goal some committee members have begun to see that the quality and "reality" of the partner or connection relationship is not necessarily linked to "doing" in the Western sense. This realization has illuminated for them the strength of the desire to "do" in a material sense, that exists among their fellow CRC members.

Matt VanderKooy explained that while he personally has become comfortable with the idea of relating without volunteering work, it is a different and difficult matter to convey this idea to home congregations and, more to the point, rally their support for it. The people with whom Partners in Hope are connected in Uganda, "would love for us just to come and be with them, and see what they're doing, and – not pick up a hammer and build a school, but just to be with them. To see how they live their lives." However, because it's an expensive journey, the committee has explored the possibility of raising funds from within the church. Doing so,

> what we've come up against in just talking casually to people, is, 'unless you're going to do a project, unless you're going to do something, I'm not interested in sponsoring your trip.' So it's kind of a reality that we've been dealt, and so... the last time we met this was an agenda item, that said, 'what sorts of questions can we ask of our partners in Uganda, such that we might come up with a project to do.' So the visit, [is a] very important part, [to] establish that relationship, but to also do something while we're there.

By this description Matt encapsulates a catch-22 that these small groups find themselves in, and that I found described in various terms by several other people on these committees. Though they

may want to conduct their partnerships in a particular way, the larger context of the church community from within which they are working and on whose support they rely means that they are obliged to compromise that vision. This hobbling of a good – in this case the possibility of a real paradigm-shifting cultural engagement – by the demands of its supporters is similar to the dynamic of volunteering wherein people want to help, but also want to define the terms by which they do so.

Another motif within considerations of direct connections through partnering and volunteering was the idea of reciprocity or mutuality. Ideas of reciprocity and mutuality articulate the hope and desire that such arrangements will allow both sides to "build each other up" through the development of this direct connection. It is recognized that reciprocity in these relationships will not be of equal material goods, but it is hoped that there may nonetheless be worthwhile benefits of other kinds.

This was made explicit in the context of connections between churches and third world communities via the efforts of special interest groups, but was also found in comments regarding mutuality and relationship achieved through short-term missions and volunteer groups. The homepage of Ubuntu expresses this idea perhaps most clearly and concisely, reading, "Ubuntu is a group from New Hope Church whose mission is to build a reciprocal relationship with a community in Africa. We want to help them develop holistic and sustainable projects to help improve the quality of their lives. In return we believe we can learn a great deal about life from them."[510]

One of the expressed hoped for returns on this type of exchange is that it will function as a stimulus for the reconsideration of certain taken for granted points of view within Western cultural norms. Pastor Cowie, again, says, "...the whole idea of a reciprocal relationship is hard, because most of the people here will never go there and see what we have to gain from their way of life. But I do think that that's happening, even with the people that have visited [their partners in Malawi] – just recognizing that maybe all that we strive for, in our Western material culture, isn't – all that there is."[511] In *Walking With the Poor*, his handbook on how Christians can do development in a properly stewardly way, Bryant Myers discusses capital 'P' "Poverty" in which he includes the poverty of the non-poor who, he says, "too, suffer from a marred sense of identity

[510] New Hope Calgary: Ubuntu <http://www.newhopechurch.ca/page.php?pgid=ministrypage&itemid=10>
[511] Plus see Scott and Wierstra transcript for more on this topic; and VanderHeide.

and vocation, only in a different way than the poor experience."[512] This idea, of poverty in spirit, and the spiritual poverty of Western life (writ large, generic, and "sinful," in antithetical terms), was touched on repeatedly in interviews where people discussed what can be learned "from them." While there are certainly issues of romanticism and orientalism at play in the idea that the third world has something special to teach the first world that it has no resources to access within itself, this kind of idea was vocalized frequently as something in which my respondents found real value and importance. It meshes well with the Kingdom position of the CRC vis a vis itself and society, wherein improvements can always be made, and lessons always learned.

Julie VandenHeuvel shared her understanding of how the Ugandan partners of Partners in Hope, "could come a long way in blessing us in how we worship, and how we – just, trust, in God. Some of these people have seen family members get killed in front of them, and they've been left with nothing, and yet they still – it's unequivocal praise of God. And I think there's a lot we can learn from that." Matt VanderKooy affirmed VandenHeuvel's hope that the partnership would bear spiritual fruit, in the form of "growing together in kind of that faith journey, if you will, corporately."[513]

For the Kenya Project Committee of the NADC, Dave VanderHeide described the benefit of the relationship as understanding, and specifically the opportunity "to understand the idea that other ways [of life] might be just as good or better" than Western norms. Along this theme, Barb Barthel described a personal realization that Western knowledge and ways of life are not necessarily superior to other ways, and have their own weaknesses: "When we went to Honduras... We learned about who is really free. Who is really free? The people who are poor are free. Because they have nothing to hold on to. All the rich had the barbed wire fences, and the guards, and were so busy guarding their stuff. So who is really free? [...] ...to say that we have all the answers, and that we're so smart? Well, just look at us."

A second, related, hope is that the Alberta community will learn from these partners and the relationships in the fashion more of a cross-cultural experience than necessarily a self-critical one. That is, simply, that one's worldview might be enlarged and enriched. Almost unanimously, the mutuality of a relationship was to be achieved through the benefit for the CRC members of

[512] Myers, p.15

[513] Another e.g., from Partners in Hope member, Nicole Wilson: "I think part of our relationship isn't the one-sided, let's help them; but it's what can we learn from them as well. And that was important to Partners in Hope, so we could learn more about their culture, more about the way they serve God and teach their kids about God, and what can they teach us about our own relationship with God. So we really wanted to have a back and forth."

"learning," from the people and from the experience itself. This was referred to in various ways, as increasing understanding and awareness,[514] as being "blessed,"[515] as getting educated, and of course, as "learning." The substance of what was learned was significantly along the lines of personal edification, especially spiritual.

Finally were those who explained mutuality in the return of learning how to do development better, and how, simply, to have better relationships. To Jerry Borst, for example, "There needs to be a response. And so I always think it's important for organizations such as CRWRC [i.e. World Renew], they need to get that information back. So it becomes part of 'what we do.' So, it's a give and response, and a response and give type of thing." As an example, Borst described an instance when he received a "thank you" as a response and how that kept him motivated to continue to volunteer at a soup kitchen in Calgary. Similarly, Matt VanderKooy described how this kind of return helps Partners in Hope to stay motivated, and to feel justified in continuing to do its fundraising and other support tasks:

> One of the things that the partnership states is, we want to learn from them how what we are doing, in terms of fundraising and providing money for them, is helping them. Not so much through stats but through stories. So we want a picture of a person, part of this program that we're helping fund, and the story of how it changed their lives. And when we get them they're amazing. These people that start off in adult literacy or they get a small loan to expand their business or to do something. The payback rate on that, and the quality of life for them – all of them say, 'yeah, I can send my kids to school now, I can afford to feed my family.' It's just awesome stuff.

"Information," then, is not just results but also information as to whether the work is appreciated, whether it is necessary and people are satisfied. It is, in other words, stories, and specifically stories that elicit affective response. Specifically then, too, what is desired is in fact *not* "information" but rather "affirmation" – of one's good works; of one's good intentions; and of

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[514] David VanderHeide: "I think, just establishing a stronger relation — even understanding who we are, and who they are, and different cultures... . ...when he [an NADC Kenya Project Committee-sponsored visitor from Kenya] came here it was largely — he came here, visited some of the churches, spoke at different groups, and raised awareness, sort of, for the Kenya thing; and experienced life here, and got some good stories, and stuff like that; but it wasn't for him to learn how we did farming in Canada. It was just, 'This is who we are, we want you to experience our life, too, and wanted to bring you to speak to different persons in Alberta.'"

[515] Barb Barthel: "When we went to Honduras, we thought, 'yeah, we're really gonna bless these people' – they blessed us. [...] So we learned a lot. And that experience keeps coming up, for example in our kids' lives, and it keeps going."
Jerry Borst: "…if I think back to my work either on the school board or other committees at schools, or being involved with church. The more you give the more you get out of it. Especially if it's difficult, you come out of those things, thinking, ok, I have been blessed by this."

one's election. Assurance that though materially blessed, one is not therefore spiritually bereft. In this way relationship or connection with the poor affirms the principle of antithesis – that the material comforts of Western Christian life are different than those seen in the lives of non-Christians. This is a species of affirmation touched on earlier in Cornelis Bos's uncertainty regarding his own affluence, and the hope that his own discernment and that of World Renew – the principles by which affluence was achieved and utilized – would mitigate and leverage to good ends Cornelis's position as a "have."

The desire to be personally involved and establish one's own personal connections and initiatives, forge one's own experiences and make a difference with one's own two hands, stems from and is encouraged and legitimated by the CRC *habitus*. It reflects ideas of deaconship, of stewardship (the development of the church, the appropriate use of gifts and resources), and of evangelism in the example of Christ, and also positively affirms the self-image of the group as efficient and effective, values that are both ethnic and religious. It is, in fewer words, deeply linked to the identity of this group as Christian, and not just Christian but as Christians who are passionate about the Christian life as described in the Reformed tradition. To be *in*active is, to this community, anathema. We have also seen that this is not a group that wants to do whatever, "willy nilly." It is important to them that they do good well; in fact it is of profound soteriological and eschatological urgency. And yet, as I hope has been made clear, in striving toward this goal they in certain ways – as a church body – undermine and hobble their own intentions.

The paradox that Pastor Cowie described, the cross-purposes of short-term missions, special interest groups and partnerships, and volunteering, parallel the paradoxical set of conditions in which World Renew finds itself as a professional, international NGO that is simultaneously a church body, the diaconal arm of a particular North American Christian denomination. World Renew is asked to do the best (most effective) work it can by using resources in as stewardly (efficient and sustainable) a manner as possible, while also facilitating the desires of non-experts to contribute to the cause in ways that to an extent they often want to determine themselves. These desires need to be met in order to cultivate and maintain constituent support, both moral and financial, especially as CRC members become decreasingly fixed on the idea of supporting their denominational group primarily or to the exclusion of others. At the same time that constituents are becoming less tied to World Renew on principle, interested people are also becoming more self-educated on issues of poverty and aid, and more concerned with "truly"

helping. The following section examines some lifeworld and *habitus* sources of the impulses and forms of "doing good" well, for the CRC community of Alberta.

III. "Go and Do Likewise": CRC Lifeworld Imperatives

This section examines some ways that *habitus* informs the way that my interviewees communicate certain ideas or, in the words of Basil Bernstein, their speech "code." Bernstein argues that individuals are socialized into two types of speech – "restricted speech codes," which presuppose "a local cultural identity which reduces the need for the speakers to elaborate their intent verbally and to make it explicit"; and "elaborated" codes in which "meanings which are discrete and local to the speaker are cut [from the speaker's potential verbal arrangements] so that they [the speaker] are intelligible to the listener."[516] Codes are not a matter of vocabulary but rather a matter of the employment of vocabularies (in combination with speech patterns) that either do or do not make explicit the speaker's "discrete intent," i.e. the underlying meanings of what they are saying.

Regarding the terms examined in this chapter, in combination with the doctrines described in chapter three, the CRCNA offers a linguistic and doctrinal framework and paradigm – a discourse – that contributes, with the rest of *habitus*, to the formation of congregants' worldviews. These worldviews can be expressed through multiple available frameworks including, at appropriate times, the terminology and ideology of Christian Reformed tenets (as, for instance, seemed largely appropriate during many of my interviews).

In expressing their views on poverty, aid, the church, and the other through the framework of a shared discourse, as my interviewees did, the heterogeneous unevenness of the outlooks of CRC members becomes smoothed during exchanges of restricted code, by the containing effects of discourse. Rather than explain each time what one means by, e.g., stewardship, relationship, "being with," etc., within the CRCNA these terms presuppose a local cultural-religious identity which simplifies dialogue. At the same time, however, as my data shows, restricted code can also, besides simplifying dialogue within a community, complicate communication and practical matters by eliding differences. These differences as I have identified them above are not precisely theological so much as stemming from the roots of members' individual paradigms in a mix of

[516] I.e., a more widely shared manner of speech is employed.
Bernstein, Basil. "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences." *American Anthropologist*, Vol.66, No.2, Part 2, December 1964, 55-69. pp.60, 63

shared community experience, group values, and life in the broader socio-economic world in which the group and person is embedded and of which they comprise a part.

i. The Neo-Calvinist, or Kuyperian, Imperative to Act

The Christian Reformed employment of, for example, stewardship discourse demonstrates the unique Kuyperian orientation to the world, often called "world-life view" or paraphrased with the saying, "every square inch [belongs to God]." It is the duty of a Christian to not only base his/her life on Christian principles, but to try to bring those principles to bear on the non-Christian world as well. The mandate of stewardship is one way in which all manner of mundane decisions and relationships are brought into line with the consideration of Christian principles and what a life looks like when wholly directed by such principles.

Disagreements about what constitutes stewardly behavior and decisions can be traced to the history of the CRCNA itself, the conflict between its outgoing and inward-directed Reformed heritages, but it seems to me that to an extent the issue also lies outside of the church proper, in the conflict between theory and practice, the fact that stewardly ideals exist in non-ideal contexts. To an extent this situation is previewed by the Kuyperian doctrine of "common grace," which opens up space for God's chosen people to have the freedom to work with unsaved people and systems in order to work toward God's redemption of the world.

The Kuyperian emphasis on principles-based living, too, the simple tautology that Christians make decisions based on Christian principles (versus the "liberal" principles on which non-Christian acts are premised) provides grounds for individualist helping like that described above. It also, importantly, provides grounds for each arguable interpretation of stewardship and, more widely, for the idea that if a Christian person or organization is doing a thing, then it is "better" — in the sense of more eternally-motivated and thus probably more committed and having more integrity, thus being more trustworthy – than if a secular organization is doing that same thing. This premise is linked with the idea of "pillars," of having Christian versions of social institutions in existence to work alongside of secular institutions, as alternatives and vehicles for Christians to be able to participate virtuously in the larger society outside of the bounds of the church proper.

ii. Political-Economic Context

The Christian Reformed Church lifeworld in Alberta is formed out of the matrix of many various influences, some of which I have outlined in chapter's two and three. The Dutch Kuyperian

cultural-religious *habitus* can be summarized broadly as the impetus to participate devotedly in society, working from Christian principles toward creating alignment of secular society with Kingdom ideals. Through proper Christian influence society can be reformed and in some cases transformed, from within, but never forcefully or radically altered. Embedded, then, within the phenomenological core of the CRC, especially in Canada, is the injunction and drive for outward oriented, practical, moving, accomplishing action, or, to quote one respondent, "doing."

The insistence on doing – on the possibilities of "DIY," of going "over" and accomplishing things in the "can-do" manner seemingly missing from development contexts – reflects a history in Western Canada of frontier goals and achievements, and it also reflects the political culture of Alberta in particular, which has thrived over decades with the help of an invisible social security and public services and support infrastructure subsidized by oil reserves – an invisibility which prompts and supports the sense among, especially, affluent Albertans that they possess a knack for economic success apparently missing elsewhere. As Esther Duflo explains in her 2012 Tanner Lecture,[517] most affluent societies, Alberta among them, operate inconspicuous, often state-directed social defaults (clean running water; sewage systems; pension plans; health insurance; mandatory auto insurance, etc.) which citizens largely do not think about as optional or decisions as such but which are public choices nonetheless crucial to the experience of economic success and overall security in those places. For inhabitants benefiting from these unseen defaults it can be difficult to imagine the kinds and size of obstacles preventing success like theirs in other economies – especially when, as is generally the case, there *are* some very affluent people in those same places. The general positive cultural valuation of affluence and its equation with correct and astute economic choices also contributes to the sense among not just Albertans but Westerners in general that they have something to offer the developing world context, almost simply by virtue of inhabiting the first world.

Alberta's political-cultural climate of small governance also buttresses this sense of cultural-economic superiority with a certain pride in independent action that fits well with the impulse to organize groups and committees from within churches, to undertake tasks and projects in order to "sink their teeth into" a problem and try to fix it. Further shaping these assertive approaches to poverty and helping are the consumerism and individualism of Western culture,

[517] Duflo, Esther. "Paternalism vs. Freedom?" Part I of "Human Values and the Design of the Fight Against Poverty." Tanner Lectures on Human Values at Harvard University, May 2012.

which cater to the idea that demands should be met with supply and that every person's opinion not only matters but deserves active recognition. These types of tacit cultural assumptions encourage the tendency to want to try to achieve goals according to one's own preferences rather than according to what might be the best course of action for, in this case, helping overseas communities out of poverty in a sustainable, efficient (frugal), and Christian Reformed manner – goals also set by constituents for World Renew and considerably complicated by the added requirement of accommodating constituent desires to lend a hand.

Though Alberta is certainly not the only CRC context within the larger Western culture of commodification of everything, including poverty and aid, in chapter three it is argued that the CRCs in this province do have a unique history of 1) independence from the central church body in eastern Canada and the United States; and 2) a post-World War II Kuyperian understanding of the church in society; which together lead to 3) a vehemence and self-assurance about the responsibility of CRC members in society that has and continues to mark Albertan churches as uniquely determined, within the CRCNA, to "go," "do," and "act" in the world and to insist that this is the correct behavior. Their insistence on volunteer opportunities and on certain special interest projects, as well as the fervor with which (especially Northern) Alberta churches support World Renew are validated by the success of such programs, as measured by participation and fundraising.

iii. Dutch Christian Reformed Ethno-Religiosity

Beyond these historical and political-economic considerations, the strong concern with "doing" that has been shown in this chapter – being proactive in the world in tangible or measurable ways – is an area of interest and concern with regard to World Renew that seems to derive in its specificities quite clearly from the shared *habitus* of my interviewees in the CRC as ethno-religious background. The importance of doing as a lifeworld trait was expressed with reference to Dutch cultural heritage, and by some in more theological terms, as a point of pride in the "deed" side of the "word and deed" Reformed approach to evangelism (described below).

Motivations for wanting to participate in the work of overseas development and aid stem from the impulse to "do" as well as appreciation for "doing" as part of World Renew's and general CRC praxis. Cornelis Bos described the motives behind Emmanuel CRC's Partners in Hope initiative as: "...we want to get our hands dirty, and help. And CRWRC says, well we can't just give give give. [So we wonder,] What can we do?" He continued, "The purpose [of Partners

in Hope] is that we do something, so that we get our hands dirty." Jenny Bakker, as quoted earlier, also described her appreciation for the efficiency of projects in Kenya in terms of "doing," the fact that "something actually happens, it doesn't take five years and a lot of applications and forms before something can happen." To Bakker, going and doing something concrete is "far more encouraging for the person waiting for help or looking forward to improvements in their life, than filling out applications and sitting in a refugee camp for ten years, and whatever. …it's kind of like, do what you can – and these guys were doing what they could!" It is worthwhile to note her use of the term "encouraging," here, which she earlier described as an outcome of "coming alongside." This correlation shows that for Bakker, "doing" is a type of "being with," a way of relating.

Linda Siebenga appreciatively summarized the Reformed view as "to think it is also to do it. So you have to put into action what you are – if you say that's what you are, then you put it to work. Like, you don't just say 'give a guy a cloak,' you actually do it. ...if this is what you believe, then that's what you do." She hypothesized that one of the reasons for the popularity of World Renew within the church, as opposed to other approaches to social justice, is the immediate and tangible results it offers: "...it's not easy to fix the environment. It's not easy to fix the native situation; injustices – so you quit buying bananas for a while. It doesn't really make any difference. But, if you can, even, go to High River now, and clean up somebody's stuff,[518] now that's – that just seems so much more concrete." On the other side of this appreciation, she admitted that as a poet and an introverted and shy person, it has sometimes felt difficult to meet the standards of doing that are part of the Dutch CRC culture: "...it's almost like if you're working in the thrift store, or if you're helping other people do the food thing, that's legitimate. If you're just sitting somewhere thinking, now, I don't think so. And that was always the Dutch work ethic." You have to be visibly, obviously, physically helping, that is, "doing."

Others also associated the results and visibility orientation of the CRC to its Dutch heritage; practices and priorities brought to Canada by post-WWII immigrants and now valued as traditions and traits. Janine Siebenga, as mentioned earlier, cited her oma's "Dutch CRC immigrant stamp of approval" of World Renew as grounds enough for her own. When asked what that approval indicates, she answered, "It indicates frugality! It indicates a work ethic that finds a

[518] High River, in southern Alberta, experienced severe flooding in late summer 2013 that left many residents out of their homes.

way to make the dollar go as far as the dollar can, without cheaping out... .” This type of work ethic involves getting one’s hands dirty, pitching in, not sitting on the sidelines waiting for things to get done. It is the ethic that launched a nation's worth of self-funded Christian schools and CRCs, business organizations, labour unions, universities, and more, all run proudly on tight budgets. It is not miserly, but neither is it wasteful – though wastefulness is identified by stringent standards. The “Dutch ethic” is one of efficiency, and efficiency implies “doing,” in part because it is inefficient to spend time, money, or other assets having things done by others when one can just as well or probably better do them oneself.

Edwin Dening, in explaining of what he had critically observed is a focus within World Renew on reports and results-based initiatives, laughed, “Well, it's the culture we come from. Are you kidding? [...] Look at those Dutchmen!” One confidential, source explained his financial support of World Renew as, “I was born and raised a Dutchie, that's why. And plus I think they do good work. Like, I think the Dutch people are pretty good managers of money, and hard workers and stuff. So, I trust them to do a good job.” Another respondent with Dutch immigrant background spoke of World Renew as “part of [his] story,” while a fourth described the organization as “something historically that my relatives and family have supported over the years.” Many interviewees cited belonging to the CRC as a significant part of their reasons for supporting World Renew, but within this what many of these people really indicated was World Renew’s Dutch heritage, signified by its roots in the CRC.

iv. “Word and Deed”

It must be noted that the character of Dutch culture in this particular community is inextricable from the Kuyperian socio-religious doctrines that undergirded much of its life in Holland and were imported to Canada post-WWII. These doctrines and the history of emigration are tied into current views of Dutchness, of CRC identity, and of what therefore is the appropriate way to reach out to the needy. The Kuyperian doctrines described in chapter three result in the notion of ‘pillars,’ of which World Renew is one. In chapter three, too, I described how the CRCNA’s multi-wave history of immigration and the disparate doctrines thereby brought under a single institutional roof has resulted in a church that is united by its internal tensions. The root of these tensions is the contrasting impulses of its pietist, Puritan, inward- and church growth-oriented, and outward-oriented, socially concerned Kuyperian strands. Out of this combination has resulted a praxis referred to as “word and deed,” explained in part by the logic that traditional missionary

evangelism is inappropriate in contexts where physical needs clearly precurse and outweigh possible spiritual needs. In such contexts, it is argued, doing what one can to help people meet their material needs is a far more effective spiritual ministry than simply preaching or "handing out Bibles."

While the pietist strain of the CRCNA recognizes and supports the Gospel Mandate and its fulfillment by the sending of missionaries, the "word and deed" school of thought binds the evangelical reach of the CRCNA to its material social responsibilities, its stewardship and Creation Mandate. The CRCNA has an institutional missions organization that exists specifically for the explicit spreading of the Gospel, and part of the history of World Renew is the long-term battle to extricate itself from demands to do explicit missionary work (a struggle described in chapter seven). Nonetheless, for CRC membership, "word and deed" means that, like it or not, World Renew is an important part of the CRC's Gospel witness in and to the world. This aspect of the constituent understanding of World Renew, then, is another instance of the importance of "doing" in the CRC lifeworld as a religious community.

Walter and Ella Land provided a particularly spirited description of what word and deed does and does not entail, when they described to me a certain encounter that they had while in Haiti (on personal business) in the early 1980s:

> Walter Land: When we were there [the missionary compound where they stayed] for supper, an older and a younger person came in, and they were bragging about what they were doing up in Port-au-Prince in one of the slum areas. […]
> Ella Land: […] they had been sent from somewhere in the U.S. with whatever mission, and they preached to people in Cité du Soleil, one of the really poor slums, where people live under cardboard and tin, and this one had a little pile of beans for sale, and that one had a little pile of [something else]. These were people who lived from hand to mouth, they had nothing. So they went there, and they were preaching. And they preached to however many people, I can't remember the number – but so many of them were saved. And I'm thinking, 'saved? Saved for what? Is that the hope that you give people, the hope for eternal life, some day, but now you live in a hellhole?'
> Walter: They can preach all they want, but there was no action. But CRWRC, what they do, they go church-planting, basically – they help people to be self-sufficient in their own environment, that's the key answer to all this, but they show the farmers, the people over there, like, one piglet, they give them one piglet and then they're supposed to look after it, and soon they have little ones, then they have to give it to the next person, one of those piglets – they're helping them to be self-sufficient in their own environment, but they didn't go over there, bang, and start preaching. This is church-planting, that's what this is about.
> Ella: Eventually the churches came, but that wasn't their primary reason for being

there. Their primary reason was to serve God by helping people to be self-sufficient.
Walter: And that's exactly the way the Lord Jesus Christ would operate.

Being with people and doing things to help them, then, is a practice modeled after the life and work of Jesus Christ. Like Linda Siebenga mentioned with regard to the Dutch value of tangible or visible actions, what is of value in the dictum "word and deed" is that following the example of Christ, sharing the Gospel, bringing the Kingdom, is not done by "just" words, but must be accompanied – or, better yet, preceded – by deeds.[519]

This injunction bears clear resemblance to the reluctance to send "just money," and the preference to accompany money by deeds either in person or by a proxy such as World Renew. Money and words are, in this view, meaningless unless matched with the stronger testimony of acts. Judy Giesbrecht, for example, attributed to "preaching" connotations of "telling or imposing," when she said, "I think wherever we [Christians] are, and whatever we do we can do it in a way that shows people that God loves them. In the things that we say, but without preaching, but just being examples. [...] When people see that you live differently and you love differently, then – you still have to speak the words as well, but not come in and preach at them, 'This is what you must do.'"

The emphasis on "doing" for this community, then, is both cultural and soteriological, bound up with the commitment of CRC members to the earthly and (potentially) eternal salvation of the people for whom the deeds are done. Giving handouts without relationship, throwing "just money" at people, is a similarly incomplete act as words without deeds. Showing one cares in a careless, superficial manner will engender neither material nor spiritual change, and is therefore unstewardly in the sense of non-relational and in the sense of wasting resources.

Henry Visscher and Linda Schripsema offered a view into how this multi-dimensional emphasis on "doing" becomes blended with the notion of volunteering or partnering, for people who are or want to be involved with aid in some measure. Henry described his sense of volunteering with DRS as "a ministry of presence, where you simply are out there to help others... ." When I asked whether it makes a difference to him that this ministry is enacted through the CRC, he continued with the same theme:

[519] Erica Bornstein describes an interesting and likely significant parallel to this in the evangelical theological "narrative underpinning of child sponsorship in World Vision," which is "fuelled by personal relationships modeled after those between believers and Jesus Christ." The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe. Stanford University Press, 2005. p.94

> …there is a common mindset, as far as what they [World Renew] envision, and what our church encourages, and what I myself believe in rather strongly – that world-life view of ministering holistically... . It's not just giving them the bucks, or fixing that house, and then leaving it, but we develop the relationship, to continue that [ministry]. ...where, my presence, again, is also a bible, to some extent: in a tangible, practical form.

Not only does Henry invoke the Kuyperian insistence on the holiness of the whole world and therefore the Christian's duty to go out into it, he also asserts the notion of *being* a bible, that is, of deed *as* word (or, Word) embodied. These two things – world and life, and deed *as* Word – are, I think, key to understanding the CRC attachment to going and doing things for other people, an attachment that is testified to by the insistence on short-term missions despite legitimate criticisms and the existence of viable alternatives, and by the persistence of requests to "do" when it comes to ways of being involved in the church's global diaconal work.[520]

v. Reciprocity

Within the emphasis on doing and helping, and qualifying this, is an emphasis on, or desire for, a reciprocity or mutuality. Some further insight into this insistence can be arrived at through considering some of the sociological implications of reciprocity or the lack thereof. In the second essay of his two-part study of the social and moral value of reciprocity and beneficence, "The Importance of Something for Nothing," sociologist Alvin Gouldner makes a number of observations regarding the functions and rationales of beneficence when social relations are mostly premised on the norm of reciprocity. Within various observed rationales for beneficence, and tied to the beneficent act, is the notion and position of getting "something for nothing." Gouldner notes that recipients of something in exchange for nothing are considered by society to be "depend[ent] upon others... for [their] own autonomy." Correspondingly, "the donor gives because of what the recipient *is*, not because of what he *does*. The recipient self that seeks something for nothing is therefore powerless to modify the conditions of his existence."[521] In other words, a non-reciprocal relationship dehumanizes or is, in Gouldner's terms, "infantilizing," since only children[522] can legitimately ask for and receive something for nothing, i.e. without

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[520] This is also an interesting way of modeling one's actions after Christ's, in the sense of Christ understood as "Word made flesh," as described in the Gospel of John, chapter 1 verses 1-16. But I can't be sure exactly how theologically my respondents were thinking. I think that a lot of the jargon in use is, as Bernstein says, insider rhetoric, with infrequent review of the deeper ideas from which such jargon springs.

[521] Gouldner, Alvin W. "The Importance of Something for Nothing" in Alvin W. Gouldner, For Sociology: Renewal and Critique in Sociology Today. London: Allen Lane, 1973, 260-299. p.270, italics original.

[522] Ibid., pp.268, 273-4; and the disabled (p.282). This is a troubling triad – children (previously coupled with women), the disabled, and the poor – when considering their historical position as all lumped together in the

reciprocating.

As established earlier in this chapter, CRC members as a whole seek to support practices that empower people and communities, and do not create dependency on aid or "handouts." Dependency creation, they agree, is anti-stewardship; it is destructive rather than constructive. As Gouldner writes, creating dependency or, rather, undermining autonomy, or even *creating the impression* that a person or group is dependent and non-reciprocating not only disempowers but removes adult dignity, belittles, and diminishes humanity. In contrast, reciprocity may be a way that beneficence can be a positive act.

Gouldner's analysis is also one way of talking about the provenance and effects of power asymmetry in contexts of economic disparity, and how a "donor-recipient" connection can exacerbate that. In post-colonial critiques of ideas of "development," aid has been criticized for a culture-blind superiority complex, following the colonial model of establishing "civilization" where there was previously "nothing." Though development aid today is in some ways more self-aware in that regard, the fact of disparity and its impact on development strategy and implementation remains a challenge for questions of ethics in international aid.

Among, especially, congregants who seek to be well-informed on issues related to development and poverty perhaps the stated goal of reciprocity is part of an effort – even if not fully cognized or articulated – to mitigate or oppose the power disparity involved in the act of contributing "just money." This rationale is explicit for World Renew as an organization, but it is not clear that constituent goals are equally strategic. Nonetheless, the collective intuition, articulated to various degrees of completion, that there is something demeaning about handouts – as well as being unstewardly in the sense of unsustainable – seems to me a potential source of the strong articulation of a desire for a mutuality in this donor-recipient connection.[523]

In addition to Gouldner's perspective, throughout the interviews references to mutuality, relationship, and associated terms, and the desire to be involved, to connect, and to care, seemed

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social categories of powerless, voiceless, useless, burdensome, and second-class or subhuman.

[523] Toward this point – it has to be noted that Gouldner's analysis only holds true for (Western) societies in which reciprocity truly is the social norm. It is an irony of the mandate to imitate Christ that so many those who most wish to do so are undermined by the society / culture in which they live – for example, the issue of "handouts" would not have existed in Christ's world, as it was a long-standing cultural norm to leave gleanings and other "extras" aside for the poor. The existence of dependency as an issue relies on an assumption or assertion that independence is the norm, and that interdependence is a requirement of poor societies, rather than simply a different way of life. In a different society – and coming from a different lifeworld – there would be no guilt or uncertainty involved in the act of donating to the less fortunate, and no shame or personal moral or ethical failure associated with being on the receiving end.

to indicate a desire to be altered through the experience of an other (place or person or reality). While it is not really possible to evaluate the depth of this desire, one can still say that its expression reflects a valuation of such statements, that is, of statements that imply dissatisfaction with the self and with society as they are. This dissatisfaction is a quintessential feature of Kuyperian neo-Calvinism, with its emphasis on constant reformation, as well as of the evangelical worldview and its eschatological mandate for world improvement to show and herald the present and coming Kingdom. It is a strong motivation for action in the world both in the sense of "doing" or helping to make things better, and in the sense of "being" or "becoming" better as an individual and a church. Neither of these reforming movements has a discernible end point or set of standards which are clearly measurable beyond the presence or rebuilding of the Kingdom, an eschatology with no clear terminus. Therefore, Kingdom discourse – of stewardship, relationship and reconciliation, of care, and of betterment – both promises and denies significant change in the individual and in society, an MO that provokes an incessant self-examination and search for means of improvement.

IV. Stewardship, Relationship, Empathy, and Funding

Despite the somewhat contradictory aspects of the desire to help in specified ways, the desire among constituents to establish more intimate ties with World Renew's projects also involves a certain convenience for matters of fundraising and constituent relations. An affective tie – a sense of empathy or connectedness – is, it seems, indispensable for maintaining interest in financial support and moral championing of charitable causes.

Descriptions of the process and value of personal connections, of various degrees of closeness, emerged throughout my interviews. People describe their thinking as having changed, their vision of World Renew and its projects clarified, and their trust reinforced and increased. Judy Giesbrecht described the importance of connections created even through indirect eye-witness:

> When we hear of poverty in other places, or disasters in other places from media sources, it's really easy to hear, see, and put it out of our brains. Whereas if we speak to someone who's actually experienced it, it makes a bigger impact. [...] When you contrast our shocked response to this [2013] flood here [in Southern Alberta] and our response to the millions of people dying, and our Canadian response to refugees – it's just absolutely pathetic, it just ticks me off... – so, we need to have people who go to those [places] and then come back and interact with those of us here, in order for us to be aware. […] when you become insulated then you can only look at yourself. [...] when people go to those other countries and

> come back, [and] you hear first hand, it opens your eyes so much more than just seeing pictures or reading some random thing.

Far off people and circumstances are thus made closer by the direct engagements and testimonies of close community members. This type of connection can influence concern with issues outside of one's own life and thus the tendency to donate, as well as to which organizations.

People who have themselves gone overseas to engage with, observe, and participate in contexts and circumstances of poverty and aid shared instances of discovering new horizons within their own lived experience. These are moments of realizing that one's own visceral comprehension of life has a vital likeness to the sensate, emotional corporeality of another, heretofore inaccessible, person. Such deep recognition of human affinity allows a quickening of what up to such a point is often just an exercise in imagining. Jenny Bakker, for instance, through motherhood, came to profound empathy with the fear of women who live in a context of ongoing inter-tribal conflict:

> ...one of the biggest things that I loved that I saw [in Kenya], was the peace project they're doing [in Turkana-Pokot]. And the women there that talked ...shared how incredibly difficult it was to lose their children, and to be afraid to walk to the stream for water, because they could be raped, they could be attacked, they don't want to send their children. …worrying about their sons going out to fight. And it was just awful. …you hear that, and you think, how horrendous.

By relating to the immense distress of what it would feel like to have this be the reality for one's children and oneself, something became "more real" about these women for this mother.

Jackie Born also described how her own lived experience, observed in person in the life of an other, deepened her sense of connection to an aspect of work being done:

> ...one of the things, coming back to the [Plateau] hospital [project in Kenya], that I remember we had a bit of a struggle with, was that it seemed to be really under-utilized. […] and there was even a discussion amongst our group, 'Is it even wise to keep this hospital open, if it's not being used?' And yet I really felt for the women there… because – when we were up North we also started a Christian school and then we had to close it for lack of support, so I know what that feels like. And that was absolutely devastating. So that was hard.

My data overwhelmingly shows that personal connection is crucial for donation. People are predominantly interested in donating to causes or organization with which they have some kind of direct personal contact, either knowing someone immediately involved with the cause, having been involved themselves at some point in time, having personally benefited, or being in a close or familial relationship with someone who has. This tendency was consistent throughout my

entire set of interviews when I inquired about charitable organizations that interviewees supported besides World Renew.

Elco VanderGrift for example, responded,

> …we [support] Christian education... […] Big Brothers Big Sisters, which is something I spend time on but is something we support financially as well. The other one is ...Shalom Counseling Centre, which is a local charity, because during a very difficult time in my life that is something that we've accessed, and so we continue to support that. […] I've been very supportive of the Kidney Foundation of Canada. Basically just because my father lived his last twelve years on dialysis. So when I was growing up we had a dialysis machine in my house, and I know that that cost entered into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, and I'm just really thankful for that, so that's why I ended up being more involved in the Kidney Foundation.

Matt and Margaret Schoonderwoerd were surprised to discover the extent of the personal ties that underlay their charitable choices, of which there were many. At one point they described a charity in Kenya, run by an individual, to whom they had sent money for a short period of time after seeing his work in person. I asked, "Why did you decide to support that private orphanage rather than support something like that through an organization?" They replied that they "really felt for this guy, and felt connected to him." Margaret continued, "We saw how he lived; he lived so primitive [*sic*], he gave so much of himself to all those orphans.[…] And then we saw his church, and there's a dirt floor, there, and that church needs to be repaired, and […] We were totally moved by those people. We weren't so moved by schools, and hospitals, and orphanages." When we examined other organizations they support, it became clear that each one had a poignant link to needs or difficulties experienced by someone near to them, or that they had witnessed firsthand and by which they had similarly been "moved."

A final example of highly personal sources of empathy and the relation to giving is found in a story from Janine Siebenga, when she explained her reason for sponsoring children through Plan Canada. "Well," she said,

> …Plan Canada came to my door, I said to the guy – he gave me his whole [child sponsorship] spiel – I said, 'I don't think so, I've got four kids already,' etc. [*sic*] And … I closed the door. Two minutes later I'm chasing the guy down the street, like, 'I don't know what I was thinking! Come back!!' I was just like, 'I'm sorry, …I don't know how you're gonna spend my money, and I don't know exactly how it's gonna go, but how can I say no to a kid who's my own kids' age?'

What these various examples demonstrate is the heavy influence of combined personal

connection and empathic insight on a person's charitable decisions. This may seem a truism, but what is perhaps not obvious is the level of directness required to create such empathy. One might think that it would or should be easy to have empathy for people struggling to eat nutritiously or send their children to school, but the varieties of difficulties that people experience are endless, and there are charities to respond to all of them. People prefer organizations with which they feel a strong tie, and will diffuse their funding loyalty for the sake of that. Though people are dedicated to donating to World Renew, without the cultivation of strong connections that loyalty is not necessarily guaranteed. As with volunteering, personal preferences and perceptions are a significant factor in funding decisions. This is also a factor that can be somewhat influenced, or engineered. Thus the desire for "more real" experiences and connections in the context of supporting work in the developing world has a number of implications for World Renew in the arena of donations.

This tendency to be more supportive of things in which one is personally invested as well as, vice versa, invested in things that one supports, is instrumental and instructive for World Renew as an organization. On one hand it benefits from the default investment of the CRC congregation in its work, an ownership which is inbuilt for many people through their relationship with the church community; on the other hand, World Renew cannot just assume donative loyalty and priority based on denominational connection, but must cultivate it, especially in light of the increasing ease that people have in locating other organizations, the tendency to "shop around" for charitable organizations that suit their preferences, and the competition among NGOs for limited donor contributions.

The need to cultivate financial support is especially true for World Renew's development arm, as people tend to a) donate heavily in the event of a disaster (which can leave them feeling like they have fulfilled their personal World Renew donation quota); and b) associate World Renew most strongly with disaster response in North America and abroad, which leaves development to a degree in the cold and in need of self-assertion. (These factors are addressed at greater length in chapter eight.) To this end, and in response to constituent desires and demands described in this chapter, World Renew has developed several means by which it encourages the development of certain types of relationship – namely relate-ability and empathy – to the people and issues that it works with in third world countries.

For most CRC constituents, connection with World Renew is usually abstract – World

Renew is in their lives as an arm of the church, as an idea, or an institution. For some people a further connection has been established through representatives, people from their congregation who have gone and visited projects and then returned home to talk about them. To create more opportunities for this kind of mixed direct and indirect experience, in order to strengthen constituent trust and engagement in its work and in response to criticisms raised against short-term missions, a practice has begun of inviting small teams of church members to travel to various places where World Renew works, to participate in two-week long "Discovery Tours."[524] These tours are designed to give participants many of the hoped for benefits of short-term volunteer missions without causing the types of issues and critiques that these latter invoke. People travel to a developing country to see where their donations are working, learn about the work and the context, and meet field staff and local community leaders. Such trips, as well, are referred to as "relationship-building." Elsewhere, this phrase was used to describe a particular type of development strategy in the field, and the premise here is not entirely dissimilar.

Several interviewees described empathy-forming experiences, derived from "coming alongside" but not necessarily "doing," had in the context of Learning Tours. These were (described as) transformative experiences for the CRC members who had them, giving them a new understanding and consideration of their own lives, of the poor and global poverty, and of the work of addressing poverty issues.

These tours present interested individuals with the opportunity to develop relations – in the sense of knowledge, familiarity, and the capacity to relate intelligently – with project staff and participants and with the projects themselves. Through such direct, interpersonal encounters, empathy can be achieved, and a capacity to truly "relate." Attachment and trust in the organization are then nurtured in home churches when the (hopefully) impassioned travelers return to present what they saw and experienced. What they bring back, in the words of one committee member, are "good stories."[525] These good stories are meant to comprise the substance and vehicle of relationships that have happened and that continue to be present in peoples lives, as memories, reminders, and future endeavors. Good stories, in addition, lead to better fundraising, which in turn leads to better support for World Renew and the projects they've gone

[524] The Canadian Food Grains Bank or CFGB, a Christian food relief and security organization with which World Renew is known by the CRC to collaborate, runs similar two-week tours of places where they help, called "Food Study Tours." These are especially popular with farmers and rural churches in Alberta, who tend to be very active in fundraising for CFGB.

[525] Nicholas Scott.

to see.

Chapter eight examines how World Renew's response to constituent preferences in this and other ways fits into and affects the work that it does as a development organization in Kenya, among other contingent and contextual factors that circumscribe its actions in the field.

Conclusion

Within the CRC in Alberta one encounters a variety of ways that people support the work of World Renew overseas. Conflict or disagreement within this variety aligns significantly with historic fissures within the CRCNA as a whole, but also reflects economic and political as well as ethnic tendencies and context. These disagreements, however, fall well enough within the boundaries of larger, shared discourse that the differences manifest as varieties within a functional whole, rather than schismatic oppositions.[526] The diaconal mandate encompasses a wide variety of tasks from within which stewardship emerges as of particular utility as a summary discourse that focuses the diaconal mandate onto how and why to act. From within stewardship, the Kingdom goal of reconciliation, repair, and "relationship" has emerged or been co-opted, in a sense, as a flexible framework for seeing and practicing development aid from a Christian, and especially CRC, point of view that is also Western, individualistic, and commodified.

Without desiring to pass judgement, it seems to me that there is inbuilt into the Kuyperian *and* pietist neo-Calvinist Christian Reformed worldview, when it comes to issues of poverty, wealth, injustice, and charity, a reasoning that culminates in a position of simultaneous action and stasis, a kind of hesitant urgency. The understanding that the "world" is "sinful," broken, and requires repair, a work that is to be led by Christians, is an understanding which compels many Reformed Christians to participate in various methods of helping the less fortunate in the world, at home and abroad. It also, as examinations of disparity and injustice tend to do, and especially so for the constitutionally self-scrutinizing Reformed, makes them question their own position in the world and creates a level of discomfort.

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[526] Though, as will be seen in chapter seven, today's holistic view on compromise is likely in part because the church has already wrestled through a decade of divisive visions, some of them resulting in the 1986 decision to let Christian Reformed World Missions and the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee work as separate organizations, rather than requiring them to work as a unit, which was causing a great deal of friction and tension. Thus some of the major differences in impulse and priority within the CRC – namely, pietist and Kuyperian tendencies – have been taken care of in that institutional separation. American CRCs now, for example, tend to support CRWM more heavily than CRWRC, and vice versa for Canadian churches.

On one hand, this constant interruption, itch, not-quite-rightness, not-enoughness of the knowledge of privilege and disparity mirrors the Christian view of the Kingdom as simultaneously here and not yet, a constant impetus to work toward and "do" justice: both demonstrating the Lord's presence and ushering Him in. On the other hand, the acknowledged imperfection of human action and the importance of doing good well create seemingly endless fodder for debate regarding appropriate ways to do justice, show mercy, and be stewardly. On a third hand, by virtue of common grace, antithesis, and the world and life paradigm, all of which encourage an embrace of one's "worldly" being as also "of God," none of the imperfect, important, appropriate ways to do justice and show mercy demand any fundamental shift in one's way of life.

Through the rhetorical movement and power of Christian Reformed doctrine and culture, diaconate, stewardship, and relationship have become set in place as current means by which Christian Reformed Church members in North America can participate in the work of development aid in a way that is distinguished in principle from aid as practiced by non-Christians and even non-Reformed Christians, but that still accommodates the Western, Canadian *habitus*, that is, does not demand radical personal or systemic change or advocacy.

Chapter 5

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN KENYA: HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Anglican Church in Kenya, and of the interactions between missionaries, converts, colonialists, post-independence government and the African-run church. Like many historical trajectories, much of the ACK's (Anglican Church of Kenya; called Church of the Province of Kenya until 1998) is contingent and driven by ambivalent forces. The movements of missions, that is, were never purely self-initiated or church-driven. Besides the powerful impact of white settlers and British colonial rule, there was also always the counterforce of Kenyan culture, desires, and socio-religious and economic histories and pressures. This indigenous counterforce is (still) too often subsumed in the by turns triumphalist and guilt-ridden Eurocentricity of church and missions history in Africa. The focus of some recent scholars on not only the African-led ACK but also myriad other forms of African-led Christianity, pays overdue respect to the impact of national and regional desires and values on the formation of the church and its social practices in the past century and longer.

Among such practices today in Kenya is that of church-based development services, established as "community services" before the growth of aid and NGOs. With an already century-long history within the ACK, and rooted in traditional practices and values that predate and survived the arrival of missionaries, the association of the church with "development" in Kenya is not new, nor are many of the development practices seen today (besides, perhaps, in technical form). Rather, the appearance of such services, and modes by which they are provided (funding, distribution), have shifted and altered in response to circumstances and opportunities, including pressing social needs. This chapter describes some of the ways that church and traditional values have interacted with each other, and with outside political and economic forces over time, to create a relevant practice of social action and activism in Kenya, as well as a deep-seated ambiguity within church-based development services.

The Anglican Church arrived in Kenya, on the Indian Ocean coast, in 1844 with two German missionaries. Today it is the largest mainstream Protestant denomination in the country (though general Pentecostalism claims significantly more adherents), with a membership of "over

five million,"[527] and home to a well-respected national development agency, Anglican Development Services (ADS; called Christian Community Services, until 2012). In the church's early days in Kenya missionaries were few and were still a type of religious explorer, sent out from Europe with little formal training, often propelled by romantic notions and abolitionist concerns. Before the turn of the century, however, European imperialism and triumphalism would lead to changes in white European society in Kenya, in the relationship between missionaries and the colonial state, and between missions and the institutions that sent them. Missionary theory and vicissitudes in colonial rule resulted in a series of oscillations in the Anglican approach to the church in Africa up until Kenya's independence in 1963. Post-independence, the church has continued to grow and develop as an institution. I examine the church's role with regard to the post-independence state, a role as complex and fraught as that of the early missionary church under colonial rule. Throughout its history the ACK has been characterized by an ambivalence of power, as an institution situated between state and citizens.

I. Shifting Relations

The earliest European missionaries to Kenya were two German Evangelical Lutherans sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS; the sending organization of the Anglican Church in Britain).[528] In 1844 and 1846, Johann Ludwig Krapf and John Rebmann arrived at Mombasa, in the Arab-Swahili environment of Kenya's east coast, on the Indian Ocean. The CMS had experienced a recent upsurge in missionary interest due to the anti-slavery campaign in Britain which, inspired by evangelical Christian convictions of the urgent need to prepare for the imminent return of Christ, "mobilized to defend the welfare of actual and potential converts to Christianity among geographically and culturally distant populations that had been drawn into the orbit of European imperialism."[529] Along with heroic tales of explorer missionaries,[530] this millennialist surplus of missions fervor allowed the CMS a small expansion from its predominant focus on the established British mission fields of India and China. The two Germans established a mission station about fifteen miles inland from Mombasa, at Rabai, where they focused on

[527] Anglican Church of Kenya. "Church History." <http://www.ackenya.org/ack/history.html> [Accessed 20 April 2016]

[528] Because of the reach and strength of British sending agencies, would-be missionaries from around Europe and from denominations without their own sending organizations would travel to England to be facilitated by these larger organizations.

[529] Stamatov, Peter. "Activist Religion, Empire, and the Emergence of Long-Distance Advocacy Networks." *American Sociological Review* Vol.75, No.4, 2010, 607–628. 608; see also 618.

[530] Stanley, Brian. The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Leicester, UK: Apollos, 1990. 78

evangelism and translation of scripture.[531]

While in part the low numbers of European missionaries to East Africa had been due to inconvenience – the British had no settlements there, the journey was grueling (the Suez Canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea was not yet built), and the climate bred diseases that killed Europeans rapidly – it was also because there was no great perceived need before that time. The numbers of European missionaries to East Africa saw a minor increase in the 1860s and seventies, but it was not until about twenty years later, after Britain's official annexation of the territory, that the CMS began to focus on East Africa more strongly. By that point, the Anglican church was already relatively well-represented by its African clergy, who had been trained by Anglicans in India.

From the late nineteenth century on, the work of the church in Kenya would be unavoidably affected by and conducted in relation to the presence of the British state and European settlers. Aspects of this relationship are broadly traceable to Enlightenment rationalism, of which one unfortunate outcome was scientific racism. By means of this latter paradigm European elites were able to justify and demand the exploitation and unequal treatment of black Africans for the sake of empire (and personal wealth). Not immune to the currents of their home culture, this racial superiority was adapted by missionaries and church authorities into a "white man's burden" reconstruction of mission. From partnership and indigenous leadership, practice in Africa shifted to "paternalism" and "trusteeship," legitimations of power disparity that would fuel church and colonial developments alike.

i. The "Native Church"

Several coinciding trajectories in the early years of British missionary work in East Africa encouraged and actively supported the development of an African Anglican Church with the authority and capacity to teach and to administer itself independently, without the presence of British leadership. For one, until 1872 the Sultanate of Zanzibar ran a slave trade up and down the east coast of Africa and to Oman, a course which included Kenya's east coast. Through a series of luck and coincidence, several Central Africans who had been rescued from slavers as children and then educated and trained by British Anglicans in India were brought to East Africa

[531] Strayer, Robert W. The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875-1935. London, Heinemann; Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1978. 3; Wortham, Robert. Spatial Development and Religious Orientation in Kenya. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, Distinguished Dissertations Series Volume 9, 1990. 35

as missionaries in the mid- and late nineteenth century. These "Bombay Africans" set to work in the coast area of Kenya evangelizing, educating, and training converts for ministry. The early church experienced significant growth along the coast, primarily with runaway slaves, as well as inland as it established a series of mission stations along the route to Uganda, which it reached in 1877.

William Jones and Ishmael Semler were two of these India-trained Africans and they achieved the rank of clergy in the Anglican Church in Kenya. James Deimler, too, rescued from slavers in 1875 and left at Mombasa where he was taken in by the CMS, was later ordained as a clergyman of the Church of England. Other Africans also became leaders in the nineteenth century church community that had developed at the coast and spread inland. Describing this community, Colin Reed writes that "there were teachers, magistrates, and a medical practitioner. These people [many of whom were "Bombay Africans"] formed a small group who became an elite in the changed Africa of pre-colonial and early colonial days." [532] This was one of the means by which, in its early days in Kenya, the Anglican Church "was established predominantly as an African church, with African leaders."[533] This state of leadership underwent a sea-change in the 1880s, tied to shifts in the British presence in Kenya as well as changes in British and European culture.

A second trajectory influential for the early church was "the relationship among philanthropy, abolitionism, and missions."[534] Missions were supported by a network of domestic philanthropic forces. Many of these were abolitionist societies, but these also overlapped with groups of "liberal"-minded citizens who opposed the expansionist agenda, and wanted to see imperialist tendencies at least tempered and made accountable via missionary presence.[535]

Influencing the philosophy of the CMS, the major sending agency for early missionaries to East Africa, was the missionary philosophy of Anglican clergyman, Henry Venn. Venn is most well-known for his vision of a "Native Church" in Africa, which would "be led by African pastors and church workers" who would be financially autonomous as well as independent in the

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[532] Reed, Colin. Pastors, Partners, and Paternalists: African Church Leaders and Western Missionaries in the Anglican Church in Kenya, 1850-1900. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1997. 2-3. See also Lonsdale, John. "Compromised Critics: Religion in Kenya's Politics" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. pp.57-94. 68-69

[533] Reed, 3

[534] Kalu, Ogbu. Clio in A Sacred Garb: Essays on Christian Presence and African Response, 1900-2000. Trenton, NJ; Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc., 2008. 112-113.

[535] Stanley, 78

realm of decision-making.[536] Within the native church, Venn imagined a two-tiered system of leadership, wherein "the upper level was expected to be well educated in the Western manner and to be able to relate to Europeans on a basis of equal understanding and lifestyle." Meanwhile, "'village pastors' were expected to live at the level of the local community, and were not to be educated to a level that differentiated them from their fellows."[537] In Venn's ideal scheme, Africans were "to hold positions parallel to those of European missionaries. They were certainly not to be regarded as being in any way inferior or subservient to their Western colleagues."[538]

Venn's idea was of a bottom-up, grassroots process that began with a missionary and culminated with a bishop or an archbishop. From the work of missionaries, "a group of converts would arise, [one of whom] would become the teacher of the group, the catechist." Through the ministry and preaching of catechists, bodies of converts would grow until there were enough to form a church. For this body, an African leader would be provided, having been more highly educated than the catechists, and perhaps chosen from among them.[539]

Venn distinguished carefully between missionaries and local clergy. While the task of both was to preach the gospel, it was important for Venn's plan that local clergy be ordained. The presence of ordained pastors would mean that "the church had come into being as a body separate from the missionary society." The process of church formation was intended to be a rapid one, and was not thought of by Venn as a distant, utopian aim. Venn's ultimate goal "for establishing a church was that a group of congregations in various district churches under their pastors and teachers would form a diocese, with its own bishop," and he presented papers detailing this process in 1851, in 1861, and in 1866.[540]

Venn's insistence on the feasibility and importance of African church leaders trained in the Western mode, and support for his views, was at least in part an opposition to the incipient cultural-scientific racism becoming commonly accepted in 1860s British society, and which argued that Africans were constitutionally incapable of being educated in the Western manner. Venn's philosophy continued to deeply influence the work of the CMS until the 1880s, when it became submerged under the weight of interlinked changes in British society, governance, and missionary theory.

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[536] Reed, 5
[537] Ibid., 164
[538] Ibid., 5
[539] Ibid., 6
[540] Ibid., 6-7

A distinctive shift in the character and practice of the Anglican CMS in Kenya can be traced to a set of influential historical events and cultural dynamics in Europe, broadly, and in Britain in particular, as well as to significant, concurrent changes in evangelical theology in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1872 the Frere Treaty between Britain and the Sultanate of Zanzibar was established, which banned the movement of slaves by sea. While on one hand the treaty spelled a victory for the abolitionist stand of the missionaries, who established a freed slave colony in 1875 at Freretown, near Mombasa;[541] on the other hand the treaty, combined with the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal, signified a new and increasing British Imperial presence in the area and a concomitant loss of freedom and independence from hitherto distant British and European culture.[542]

Perhaps the biggest change occurred at the 1885 Berlin Conference, the conclusion of the "Scramble for Africa," where European powers formally divided the territories of Africa amongst themselves. Britain's spoils included a swathe of territory from South Africa to Egypt, including much of East Africa. With the exception of Mozambique, Malawi, and Tanganyika, the latter claimed by Germany (though they would lose possession to Britain after WWI), and the first two by Portugal, Britain's imperial ambition of controlling an African land route "from Cape to Cairo" was nearly a reality.

From this point on, "the outlook of both the missionaries and the executive staff of CMS in Britain underwent a metamorphosis." [...] Missionaries deployed after 1885 "had neither the long relationship with the local people nor the understanding of the culture that the African employees of CMS did. Yet they, and the Society in Britain refused to acknowledge the reality of this and that it was mainly the long labour of the Africans that had built up the church."[543] In Niger, for example, despite the 1864 ordination of Samuel Crowther, the first African bishop in the Anglican Church, it was clear by the 1890s "that the [CMS] planned to remove leadership of the Niger Churches from Africans and to put missionaries into the leadership roles." Mutual trust was replaced by mutual mistrust, a shift that occurred throughout British – Anglican – Africa. In

[541] Wortham, 35

[542] A missionary boom – sent not just by CMS but by many organizations – between 1874 and 1877 is sometimes assessed as also linked to the imperialist cultural sentiment accompanying the surge of British high imperialism at the time. However, Brian Stanley cautions that this correlation is not proven and that, in fact, the upsurge can be more straightforwardly tied to the opening of the CMS to single female missionaries, who had previously been discouraged and excluded. The number of male recruits did also increase, but Stanley notes, again, that it was not the number of applicants that rose, but the number who were accepted and deployed. (Stanley, 80-81) So, either the calibre of applicants rose, or the church's standards changed.

[543] Reed, 164

Kenya, too, this "movement of thought in CMS and its missionaries can be observed… and a parallel bewilderment and disillusionment" among the Kenyan clergy of that time.[544] By the early twentieth century, most African clergy had resigned, and Henry Venn's vision of a native church was buried.[545]

ii. Cooperating with the Colonial State

Until 1895 British authority in Kenya was asserted via the Imperial British East Africa Company, which established inroads for commercial purposes. While collaborating with local authority when possible, Britain's material interests were backed by British and mercenary force when considered necessary. With the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate in 1895 the British government became the direct authority. In Kenya, a relatively small group of Europeans was designated to maintain control over the majority African population. In order to do so, they "tended to keep their distance, to maintain the mystique of their 'superior' culture and power, [and white] missionaries were strongly discouraged from acting otherwise."[546] With their increasing reliance on administrative approval to continue their work, and in many cases also themselves raised or caught up in the culture of an imperial sense of superiority, missionaries in general tended to align themselves with the colonial establishment (though as will be seen this was a far from uniform or uncomplicated practice).

During years shortly following this increased British presence, between 1900 and 1921, the CMS in British East Africa moved

> from the formation of an embryonic African Church Council to the establishment of a synod which in Anglican practice was the next step towards the eventual creation of an ecclesiastical province composed of several dioceses, which would be independent of Canterbury under its own archbishop. [However] the presence of a sizeable European community, active in church affairs, considerably complicated the whole process of ecclesiastical evolution.[547]

A particular complication was the issue of education for Africans. Missionaries viewed the schools as training and recruitment grounds for the church, "a means of stamping a Christian imprint on African culture generally and more particularly on that rising group of educated

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[544] Ibid., 9-10

[545] Strayer, Robert. "Mission History in Africa: New Perspectives on an Encounter." *African Studies Review*, Vol.19, No.1, April 1976, 1-15. 13; Strayer 1978, 102; Reed, 127-128, 130-131, 133

[546] Reed, 171

[547] Strayer 1978, 104

Africans on whose side, they dimly perceived, the future lay."[548] At the same time, many settlers resisted education for Africans beyond the bare minimum of technical training required for efficient labour. The missionaries were thus required to defend their "non-productive" presence and use of land before secular British authorities who had little interest in Christian concerns about the natives.[549]

In order to preserve and save their work on education, and their monopoly in that area, missionaries adopted a policy of cooperation with the British government, who provided money "for staff, buildings and equipment, upkeep and other educational functions."[550] Such cooperation presented a double-edged sword, since colonial interests often contravened the beliefs of missionaries regarding appropriate treatment and behavior of Africans. For instance, while the building and completion of the Uganda Railway (1896-1901) between Mombasa and Kisumu (on Lake Victoria) enabled the rapid proliferation of all denominations of mission station in central and west Kenya, its construction and usage also involved the appropriation of indigenous lands, the exploitation of indigenous labour, and the encouragement of British settlement and rule in Kenya, which meant the proliferation of secular policy, against which the missionaries stood vigilant. Given, however, that the only alternative seemed to be to choose "against" the survival of their mission and the salvation of those it served and protected, missionaries often decided to compromise (though not without exception, and not without protest).

Additionally, since the 1885 annexation by Britain had introduced a legal framework that tended to support settler and colonial practices, missionaries had to learn to argue from within this framework. In order to gain ground in this setting, it was most expedient to argue in terms of the good of the empire; however, this often meant employing discourse that belittled the African as at worst a savage, at best an unruly teen. This, and other developments in public policy with which the church compromised, was especially humiliating and angering for Africans within the established Anglican clergy and Christian communities.

Settler demands of the church were also racist, demanding segregated Sunday services, sanctuary equipment, and clergy. At first hesitant to comply, white clergy became convinced when settlers threatened to withdraw funding from the building of a cathedral and reminded the clergy of their need for the political cooperation of settlers in making appeals to the government

[548] Ibid., 111
[549] Ibid., 111; see also 112-116 for more details on issues and disputes regarding colonial educational policy.
[550] Ibid., 110

on behalf of Africans. Such demands and compromises did not bode well for the development of a racially integrated church. Further, settler interests in a steady supply of cheap labor – argued for in terms of its material benefits for them and the empire as well as for the natives themselves (improvement of moral fibre) – conflicted with missionary interests in the building and expansion of the church. Missionaries opposed settlers in matters of land appropriation, labour recompense and, especially, educational content.[551] Within the new legal framework, such disputes were decided by the London CMS authorities and the local British government. This led to a compromised resistance which in some part ended up as mitigation of settler practices instead of putting a halt to them.

A further change in the realm of missionary practice and organization occurred at the institutional level of the CMS, wherein society policy, following the triumphalist trend within British culture at the time, slowly shifted away from the ideal of African independence and toward paternalism. One result of this was the removal of decision-making power from the field and its placement into the hands of CMS authorities at the headquarters in London. Most CMS leaders at the London headquarters, however, were not terribly interested in the East African mission field. This left policy-making essentially up to missionaries, but at the same time, implementation of policy involved "a constant tug of war with CMS headquarters... over resources of money and manpower... ."[552]

This period also saw a significant change in the character of missions recruits. Prior to the end of the nineteenth century most missionaries came from Britain's "aristocracy of labor," the lower middle class. For these people, a major motivation to embark on a career in missions was British society and its immobile class structure. After only a year or two of training they would be sent into the field, to where they carried the underlying hope that they would eventually become ordained clergy via a combination of experience and a less rigorous testing than clerics trained at home, thereby raising their social status. Such candidates formed the bulk of East Africa missions recruits for the early period.[553]

In the 1880s, however, with the rise of pre-millennial evangelicalism in Britain, and its particular concentration and combination with pietist revival in the university, missionary societies found themselves with a marked increase in upper class, university-trained applicants.

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[551] Ibid., 103-104, 108-109
[552] Strayer 1978, 10; Reed, 125-126, 131-132, 136-137, 139
[553] Strayer 1978, 5; Reed, 166

While most of these were still sent to the more "civilized" mission fields of India and China, some were nonetheless distributed to East Africa. Besides a new evangelical outlook which combined a negative view of humanity with self-renouncing piety, these new missionaries also differed from the old in several other ways. The elite education (Cambridge, for most) and higher social status of the new arrivals distinguished them socially from earlier missionaries, making it "hard for them, on the whole, to accept anyone not from a similar background into their ranks."[554] (This sense of superiority over the earlier British missionaries did not at this time include African clergy, since these were of a similar class via their educational background.) Similarly, the new missionaries "were likely to identify with the new British colonial administration simply because they shared the same background as many of the colonial officers... in the higher echelons."[555]

This incursion of the dynamics of British class society into the East African context resulted in a web of resentments, mostly stemming from those who had sought upward mobility through missions. Already disdainful of the African clergy and disinterested in seeing them achieve equal or greater status than their own (despite CMS ideals), these earlier arrivals to East Africa experienced a double squeeze when Cambridge educated, Henry Venn-influenced missionaries began to arrive. For one, this arrival diminished their chances at social advancement, and it was yet another slap in the face when these upper class missionaries not only treated them just as they would at home, but even preferred to associate with African clergy. Thus, when it became expedient for the CMS to decrease the use of indigenous clergy, and when missiological, political, and "scientific" justifications for unequal treatment of African churchmen emerged, this threatened and resentful class of missionaries – still the majority – did not offer a great deal of resistance.[556]

Politically-based social changes in the colony and at home decreased levels of respect for and deferral to African authorities, including established clergy and church leadership. This latter change became institutionalized in CMS policy over the course of the late nineteenth century.[557] The racialized shift in East Africa was pushed along by advances in the sciences and in technology in the European context.

Among improvements in medicine and industry were also more speculative scientific

[554] Reed, 166
[555] Ibid., 126-127 and 166; Strayer 1978, 6-7
[556] Reed, 169-170; Stanley, 76
[557] Reed, 171

"advances," based in the European modernist taxonomic project. Among these latter advances were so-called scientific theories of race, which divided humans by physical features. As Europeans increased their knowledge of other peoples, non-Caucasian features were tied to cultural characteristics deemed inferior and signifying moral and intellectual failings and lacunae. While some Victorian logic judged such physiological inferiority a congenital deficit linked to skin color, others, slightly more generously, attributed the inferiority to a lack of civilization, arguing that with appropriate cultivation the other races could "catch up" to European culture.[558] In East Africa, then, it was easily acceptable for the British "to postulate that Africans represented a lower level of development both individually and as a cultural group. [...] They became regarded as children, intelligent and with potential, but still at a stage of immaturity. The evidence of a group of well-educated, articulate Christian Africans was conveniently overlooked [or] even mocked as [parodic]."[559] John and Jean Comaroff link the racist legitimation of subjugation with advances in biology and geography, both of which celebrated the British imperial mastery of hitherto uncharted territories, and the possibility of grasping, and thus advancing into and conquering, what had previously been unavailable to European knowledge and dominion.[560]

The new missionaries were also, as I have mentioned, motivated by an increased missiological emphasis on pre-millennialist evangelism. This can be traced to the impact on British spirituality of the American holiness movement led by Dwight L. Moody, as well as the British-originated Keswick movement.[561] While Moody's revival stressed the impending advent, the Keswick movement added a pietistic emphasis "on personal holiness and self-sacrifice."[562] Missionary work gained added stimulus from this judgmental piety which evaluated the world and the human condition from a position of superiority and enlightenment as corrupted, combined with eschatological certainty regarding the coming of Christ and the urgency of distributing the saving Gospel message to all before that time. This upsurge of negative piety among missionaries and their supporters, further, "reinforced the doubt as to the moral capacity of Africans and Asians for leadership," since their societies had not yet been even partially

[558] Beasley, Edward. The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences. NY: Routledge, 2010.
Lorimer, Douglas. "Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900." *Victorian Studies*, Vol.31, No.3, Spring 1988, 405-430.
[559] Reed, 167-168. Also Stanley, 76.
[560] Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991. 90-91
[561] Stanley, 82
[562] Reed, 169

redeemed by the presence of the word of God before that time.[563] Although post-millennialist convictions about possibilities for redeeming creation and the Christian duty to work toward the Kingdom of God on earth were not entirely eradicated, these were no match for the pre-millennial zeal that had, critically, met its socio-economic mate in the imperial conquering ideology of the time.

iii. Post-War Paternalism: Trusteeship and the White Man's Burden

Britain's massive losses in the First World War, and the war's social, political, and economic aftermath, re-injected a sense of sobriety and fallibility into European society. While for some the response to the war was an increased puritan rigidity and isolationism, in the CMS Britain's fall from grace led a significant number of missionaries toward a theology of hope for wholeness in this world, rather than a this-world hopelessness that banks on the next. Inspired by the sudden closeness of social needs and issues previously considered remote, missionaries embraced "education, agriculture, community development, even politics as genuine missionary concerns significant in their own right, for the older dichotomies between church and world, evangelism and education, secular and religious work seemed far less sharp than they had for the conservative evangelicals of the pre-war era."[564] In contrast to pre-war judgments against African and other non-European capabilities, too, there grew "a certain softening of the harshness and rigidity of earlier missionary attitudes." Moreover, in the wake of their conscription into European forces on various African fronts, "Africans were becoming more assertive both ecclesiastically and politically," having been exposed to new sides of colonial power. Though the guiding assumption regarding superior cultural capacity and the child-like state of Africans remained, within the CMS there was a regrowth of confidence in, at least, the potential of Africans to develop. This called for a new kind of nurturing paternalism. While well-camouflaged among general colonial attitudes, over time "such nuances in attitude produced major consequences and where they prevailed among CMS missionaries in Kenya, the mission-African relationship was profoundly affected."[565]

The rising evangelical movement "saw the spiritual cultivation of Africa as a moral, almost sacred duty, an essential part of colonizing the land."[566] This newly theologized

[563] Strayer 1978, 9
[564] Ibid., 8
[565] Ibid., 9 (above three quotes)
[566] Comaroffs, 93

paternalism found legitimation for compromise with colonial expansion in the form of "Christian Imperialism," or the White Man's Burden, which arose from the new, post-war missiology that saw a possibility of redemption for God's creation. The theological hope for wholeness in the world interpreted itself through a social activist lens as "a Christian imperialism that accepts the white man's burden as a genuine responsibility."[567] In this view,

> the more 'highly developed civilisation of the West was believed to have a role in guarding 'less developed' peoples and bringing them gradually to the benefits of a higher culture and social system. [...] Most missionaries, and most British administrators shared the common belief that the spread of the British Empire and its 'civilisation' were part of the divine plan for the benefit of the people under British rule.[568]

This new (or revamped) theology led to two missionary policies that allowed a working relationship with the British colonial administration. One, the policy of cooperation, a continuation of earlier pragmatic compromises, which went hand in hand with two, the doctrine of "trusteeship," which was used by most Europeans, including missionaries, to legitimize their presence in and treatment of colonized lands and peoples.

The post-war policy of cooperation was still based on the notion that even though involvement with secular British administration was fundamentally undesirable and likely to result in compromises of Christian ideals, it was still the lesser of two evils (the greater of which would be not having a missionary presence in East Africa at all). This perspective also involved the view that everything, including commerce and the government, was under God's sovereignty, and thus could be understood "as an instrument of God's providential rule of human affairs."[569] Cooperative engagement was frequently more easily said than done, however, especially when the various European parties had differing ideas of what "trusteeship" involved, and when "missionaries who held such views perceived themselves as being in frequent and substantial opposition to the policies of a settler-oriented government."[570]

In Western Kenya in the 1920s, for example, Archdeacon W.E. Owen's missionary career was an irritant for settlers, colonial administrators, and missionary colleagues alike:

> Believing that the only 'Christian justification for empire is service,' Owen roundly condemned what he saw as the 'foreign exploitation of the soil' and outspokenly

[567] Strayer 1978, 106
[568] Reed, 171; see also Reed, 125; Stanley, 71.
[569] Stanley, 71
[570] Strayer 1978, 106

> denounced government capitulations to settler pressure. From the early 1920s he favoured African representation in the Legislative Council and declared in a public sermon that church-state relations in Kenya would never be peaceful until this political change had occurred.[571]

In Central Kenya, Handley Hooper fought similar battles between 1915 and 1926, and Harry Leakey, too, "became an important CMS defender of African land rights. He opposed the soldier-settlement scheme as 'an act of treachery to the Kikuyu people' and consistently pressed for security of tenure on their remaining lands."[572] Such protests remained based in the paternalist trusteeship outlook, as did the ongoing abolitionist movement regarding slaves in colonies.[573] It was the European duty to "rescue" colonized lands and people, a role which both relied on and perpetuated the infantilizing view of Africa and its people as "less developed."

A further part of the paternalist appeal of Africa for European evangelical missionaries was its "pre-modern," "old World" purity, as yet unsullied by the scourges of rationalism, materialism, and urbanization.[574] Besides saving the souls of Africans, missionaries wanted to protect Africa from these corrupting social changes by establishing separate Christian communities which would preserve indigenous language and culture while infusing it with Christian faith. In the Kenyan context, the missionary desire to keep African Christians separate in order to preserve their "pre-modern purity," inadvertently supported the settler desire for a segregated society. For example, neither missionaries nor the settlers and state wanted to see Africans adopting European dress and seeking Western-style education in English. To the missionaries these things were pollutants that would draw natives closer to the dissolute settler lifestyles; to the settlers and state these things would give the appearance of shrinking the gap between themselves and Kenyans, making them harder to control and raising the potential for refusal to work or, worse, demands for political inclusion.[575] For this reason, despite wanting Africans to remain segregated from Europeans, the government at the same time did not want separate or new Christian communities or authorities at all, since they viewed them as subversive. This contradicted the missionary view that separate communities were necessary for effective

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[571] Ibid., 107
[572] Ibid., 107
[573] Comaroffs, 116-117
[574] "Part of missionary motivation was a desire to escape from the rationalism, materialism, and urbanization that were eating away at the kind of society in which the church had earlier played a pivotal role. [...] As rationalism and religious modernism swept the old world, Africa presented an opportunity to build anew the church of Christ in a more congenial, essentially pre-modern environment." Strayer 1976, 12-13
[575] Strayer 1978, 102

absorption of the Gospel, which was to the colony's benefit, a contradiction that resulted in missionaries arguing against the government from the same position as the settlers.

Similarly, earlier British education commissioners who convened at a 1910 conference in Edinburgh had "urged missions to train native Christian leaders as teachers and church officers as people who will bear the responsibility of building the church, produce the indigenous literature, and use the vernacular in instruction in the elementary schools because... simply put, foreign language makes Christianity a foreign production," and they wanted it to become indigenized. For the missionaries, instruction in Swahili was a way of evangelizing a wider group of people, as well as a step in the direction of a true indigenous church; however, removing English language instruction was also a way of reinserting and maintaining culture and language-based boundaries and power disparities between groups of people. In such cases of shifting missionary policy and its alignment with colonial interests whether intentional or not, African Christians experienced the non-differentiation between "protection" and "exclusion."

iv. Colonial Missions and the Africanisation of Christianity

Up to this point, my telling has mostly echoed the dominant narrative of the colonial story, which describes the actions of Europeans on a passive African plain. However, Europeans did not "discover" an unused, unclaimed land, nor were Africa's inhabitants pre-cultural or *tabulae rasae*. John Lonsdale, Robert Strayer, and other historians of Christianity in Kenya describe the process of "Christianisation" in terms that highlight the agency of Kenyans as they were introduced to the ideas and institutions that missionaries brought. This theme – the critical agency of and standards set by groups of people habitually left out of western-authored assessments of socio-political history – is a significant aspect of chapter six as well, and a key point for my overall conclusion.

As is often the case in acceptance of a new worldview, or split from an established tradition (e.g. the appeal of Kuyperian theology to the *kleine luyden*; or, in chapter six, the adoption of new techniques and social relations), missionary Christianity in Kenya tended to attract people variously disenfranchised within their community or culture, as generational and economic gaps emerged under changing socio-political circumstances. Orphans, wage labourers, young women escaping unwanted marriages, unpropertied young men, and landless family men living as tenants all found in Christianity a source of dignity and power that was unavailable to

them in their communities because of their material situation.[576]

Derek Peterson describes how, in Kikuyu culture especially, property was considered a sign of wisdom, or virtue. This meant that "the poor had trouble getting a hearing. Proverbially, their tongues were thin. [...] Proverbs enjoined them to keep quiet: a 'tenant does not complain,' went one. Their lack of property made them immaterial, even forgettable." The young, too, having not yet acquired property and finding that the prospects for doing so diminished with each generation, "lacked the wealth that made claims on knowledge. They found in the [Christian] Word new ways of talking about knowing, new indices of wisdom with which to prove themselves worthy of hearing."[577] The experience of wage labour, in which literacy added value to a person's time and so hastened wealth and status, further spurred the desire to access the new European knowledge and systems, access that was available through mission communities.[578]

Besides the value of such knowledge in the new labour market, people had begun to sell their labour and seek to increase its value due to the reduction of what had until recently been ordinary possibilities for prosperity. This reduction, like the labour market, was tied to the incursion of the British. While generational rifts, outdated traditional expectations, and discriminatory treatment of the poor and propertyless in pre-colonial society certainly motivated segments of the population to engage with missionary offerings, the degree to which European settlement influenced and exacerbated the development of these difficulties and divides must also be recognized. Strayer observes that

> the closure of the Kikuyu frontier by extensive European settlement had a far greater initial impact on... tenants than on those who held... kinship-group rights to a piece of land. Consequently, [ordinary differences were amplified and so] many of the earliest mission adherents came from the less affluent sectors of Kikuyu society and represented people seeking an alternative to the traditional means of achieving status.[579]

In other words, though mission stations met an emerging need, this need developed out of the arrival of colonial forces of which missions were a part. European settlement was a significant

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[576] Lonsdale, John. "Kikuyu Christianities." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 29, No.2, 1999, 206-229. pp.209, 211, 212
See also Strayer 1978, 3.

[577] Peterson, Derek. "The Rhetoric of the Word: Bible Translation and Mau Mau in Colonial Central Kenya" in Brian Stanley (ed.) Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire. Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004. pp.165-179. 168, 169

[578] Lonsdale 1999, 213

[579] Strayer 1978, 3; the search for status via missionary communities a kind of ironic parallel to the search for the same, in the same place, by lower class British missionaries.

causal factor in the decreased hopes for wealth that caused the poor and the young in Central Kenya to seek alternative sources of power, even though the form and content of the disaffection appeared indigenous.

Lonsdale carefully and precisely constructs the way that this confluence of social rifts and "colonial dislocation" produced an African religious discourse that blended the moralities of traditional worldviews and Christianity to cope with the uncertainty and create an intelligible outcome. As moral economies of, especially, traditional obligations and the new rural capitalism collided, emerging lettered leaders in colonial African society produced what Lonsdale describes as a "neo-traditional" morality, utilizing Christian vocabulary to express this blended discourse.[580] Ben Knighton points out that "in the cultural paradigm shifts during colonialism, religion was frequently a means to innovate, to resist innovation, or to mediate and comprehend change."[581] In other words, as Galia Sabar confirms, in its concurrent arrival with and connection to the changes wrought by colonial power, Christianity was well-placed and well-timed to serve as a new set of tools with which to process unexpected social changes and challenges: "From the very beginning, African believers altered Christian rituals to make them more relevant to their particular society as oppressed people within a colonial state. Although this transformation did not always challenge the established social order, it nevertheless helped believers to adjust to it, to create their own reality, and to 'make sense of what was happening to them.'"[582]

For instance, the power of the Sikh and Hindu religions, with which Kenyans had earlier contact than with Christianity, and both of which were presented as scriptural religions, "was often thought to be located in the arcane knowledge of reading scripture. Thus Africans took the Bible seriously, whether they were convinced by the missionary gospel or not, and imbibed its stories for generations. The strength of the white man lay in his ritual practice of knowledge."[583] While missionary efforts to produce a local Christian discourse through bible translation into vernacular languages were underway in the mission compound, extra-curricular translation was also practiced whereby, for example, "Gikuyu converts made the Christian religion speak,"

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[580] Lonsdale 1999, 211, 213, 218
While Lonsdale focuses especially on the Kikuyu, Central Province, experience, which is certainly unique in its particulars, the process of evaluation, adaptation, and production of Christianity by Africans is the central point that should be read as my emphasis.

[581] Knighton, Ben "Introduction: Strange but Inevitable Bedfellows" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. p.4

[582] Sabar 1996, 381

[583] Knighton, 4

rewriting the Word and accessing the ritual power of reading "to serve in internally contentious ethnic debates over age, power, and wealth."[584]

Another adaptation was "the reinterpretation of Christian rites and practices in terms of traditional belief," e.g. baptism as a healing rite, or saints as rainmakers. Beyond reinterpretation, in some cases adaptation took "the form of outright incorporation of traditional practices" such as exorcisms or miraculous healings into Christian rituals enacted among converts without the presence of missionaries or clergy. Such practices would sometimes be justified "by reference to New Testament parallels," which indicates that practitioners were quite capable of producing a local African Christianity. Strayer also, however, cites cases of "African clergymen who wore protective charms, and communicants who consulted customary religious specialists... and frequently subjected themselves to severe church discipline for doing so."[585] Thus the impulse to mix beliefs and rituals was not always unproblematic.

Such alteration and appropriation had a strong history within the East African religious practice of a pragmatic eclecticism with "an absence of divine jealousy." For most, acceptance of Christianity was an addition to, not a replacement for, existent beliefs. For example, when Kenyans were conscripted to fight for the British in the First World War, educated Christians occupied different army positions than unlettered non-Christians, which meant that many educated were able to stay out of the line of fire. "Almost all [Christians]," therefore, "returned alive, in striking contrast to the tens of thousands of unlettered porters who did not have the prophylactic protection of scripture in their kit."[586] A surge of interest in Christianity followed this discovery, in which a non-Christian worldview was the source or rationale of the attribution of power to Christianity.

Christianity, then, has always first been subject to evaluation by local, or traditional, criteria, its acceptance or rejection framed in established discourses of morality, social status, and power, and existing as an expression of or accompaniment to particularly East African perspectives.[587] It will be seen in chapter six that, despite ongoing disparities of economic and

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[584] Peterson, 166, 167

[585] Strayer 1976, 7-8 (all three quotes)

[586] Lonsdale 1999, 212 and 213 (all quotes this paragraph)

[587] As an example of a rejection of the new religion, Strayer relates the anecdote that "The coincidence of famine and drought among the Taita of Kenya with the arrival of the first resident missionary in 1883 provoked considerable antagonism toward him on the grounds that he was preventing much-needed rainfall. This hostility delayed missionary occupation of the area for over a decade. But [over time] the problem of religious competition [diminished], for missionaries largely removed themselves from such major areas of African religious concern as

political power between development participant communities and the governments and INGOs that debate key components of local lives, such evaluations and the acceptance or rejection of proffered services remain firmly within the command of local moral discourse. As is currently expressed by behavioral codes created within communities and to which NGO workers must adhere, the adaptation of Christianity by colonial "converts" (there should be a different term for this, since it seems Christianity was equally converted) also involved a reversal of roles in deciding what was acceptable within the mission community. Strayer describes this as "the Africanisation of Christianity," as opposed to the Christianisation of Africans, writing for instance that "research on the female circumcision crisis among the Kikuyu of Kenya suggests that Anglican unwillingness to push the initiation issue beyond a certain point resulted in far fewer defections from the stations of the CMS than from [other denominations' mission stations]."[588]

CMS missionaries also assented to various aspects of Kikuyu cosmology that they perceived as congruous with Christianity, such as a type of monotheism (at least the existence of a *most* powerful, creator deity); ethics of social coherence (generosity, cooperation, sense of duty); and some notions of an afterlife. Other things – prayer, revelation, grace, sin – they thought could be added; and other things – female circumcision, polygamy, sorcery – eventually eliminated. Missionaries were also frequently not averse to giving an audience what it wanted, in order to get ahead. For instance, "while evangelical Christianity was very largely a religion of communion, its missionary adherents were not reluctant to proclaim that God's power might directly affect the material affairs of men and nations." Despite the strong disapproval by missions authorities of such *ad hoc* adaptations, "particularly in the early years it was more the missionaries' willingness to pray for rain than their teachings on sin and damnation that afforded them a hearing among people for whom religion was at least in part both science and technology."[589] Greater success in numbers came to those missions that emphasized congruence over disparity, and were content to see changes happen slowly.[590] Again, one sees conditions set by the "converts," rather than the supposed converters.

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supernatural healing, witchcraft, and spirit possession." (Strayer 1976, 5) In other words, missionaries left those areas to be taken care of by traditional means, occupying themselves with socio-spiritual issues not yet sufficiently addressed, a tacit acceptance of the eclecticism of Kenyan religiosity.

[588] Strayer 1976, 6-7

[589] Strayer 1978, 7 (both quotes)

[590] Lonsdale 1999, 211

Missionary adaptations of Christianity might also be rejected, as when missionary educators decided to switch to the vernacular to preserve indigenous knowledge and communication and make things easier for more people. Considering the requirements for prospering in the colony, "many communities wanted to learn English. When the CMS insisted on using vernacular as a means of instruction, village chiefs chose to patronize the Roman Catholics who easily obliged to teach in English."[591] As Kenyans differentiated pragmatically (aka shopped) between missionary offerings, the "market" was obliged to meet demands for utility and applicability in order to retain "customers."

In addition to its malleability, though, Christianity also held appeal on its own terms, which could be used to perform the function of confirming existent beliefs and paradigms, e.g. male dominance, or the aspirations of sub-groups or outcasts. This confirming function justified the adoption of Christianity by "the logic of all conservative reform: Kikuyu faced new dangers; they needed new defenses."[592] This, and the rest of the role of Africans in the creation of Christianity in East Africa, challenges the frequent reading of the missionary enterprise in Africa as a "colonization of the mind," and rather introduces a clearly vital ethical-religious recipient culture, capable of interpreting and employing new ideas with which to cope with social change.

II. The ACK in Independent Kenya

The following section examines the post-independence actions of the Anglican Church in Kenya as it shifts from missionary-imperial incursion to an African-led body with its own blend of personal, societal, theological, and ideological concerns within the Kenyan socio-political sphere.

i. The Kenyan Anglican Church

One of the most distinctive traits of the ACK today is that of representative heterogeneity. Within the denomination, the ethnic, economic, geographic, theological, gender, and political diversity of Kenya is faithfully represented. Members come from all tribes and all classes; likewise, gender composition is reflective of Kenya's reality, "with a slight majority of women among the common believers, and a predominance of men in higher leadership roles."[593] Although, as with Kenya's socio-economic distribution, the majority are poor and under-educated, many are also highly educated and wealthy. Theologically, constituent thought contains conservative and isolationist

[591] Kalu, 142

[592] Lonsdale 1999, 217; Strayer 1976, 8. One influential Anglican Kikuyu leader compared churches to cattle-kraals, "protecting Kikuyu value against the hyena of colonialism." (Lonsdale 1999, 217).

[593] Sabar Friedman, Galia. "The Power of the Familiar: Everyday Practices in the Anglican Church of Kenya (CPK)" in *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 38, Spring 1996, 377-395. p.380

pietist strains alongside of progressive notions oriented toward social change. Political rivalries, as well, are found among Anglican church members as in broader Kenyan society. Geographically, members are especially concentrated in (though not exclusive to) Coast, Central, and Nyanza (Western) Provinces.[594] John Karanja and Galia Sabar suggest that it is these "socio-historical factors [that] explain the Church's political orientation."[595]

In Kenya, the ACK is "one of the most deeply-rooted and well-funded of all Christian communities... with a remarkably extensive infrastructure."[596] In terms of political mobilization but also, importantly, in terms of its capacity and assets for the strategizing and accomplishment of development goals, the ACK's heterogeneity and broad representativeness, along with a well-developed web of organizations and community associations, has afforded the church a unique "two-way channel of access." On one hand it has "an unparalleled insight into the needs of the people," and on the other hand a well-established "means for the broad dissemination of its moral doctrines and political views."[597]

Politically, the ACK is remarkable for the liberty afforded its leadership. Local and regional clergy enjoy the freedom to preach according to conscience about issues affecting their congregations (they also have the freedom to keep silent). This liberty is enabled significantly by the formal authority structures of the global Anglican Church. The Anglican Church's "unique organizational structure and independent financial base" are an important part of the structure that has allowed it to be flexible and adaptable enough to survive in Kenya. Though the Church is hierarchical, with a single book of prayer and assent to a set of shared doctrines, considerable autonomy is permitted and encouraged "at all levels, down to the parish priest." Each local Anglican church has the freedom to adopt and create a constitution in accord with parish conditions and needs, and to compose its own local theology, in basic concord with the Anglican Communion.[598]

Thus, despite diocesan oversight,

the local parish clergy have considerable latitude both in the daily running of the

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[594] Karanja, John. "Prophetic Ministry: Lessons from Africa." *Trinity Seminary Review*, Vol.28, No.1, Winter/Spring 2007, 7-20. p.8
See also Sabar, Galia. Church, State, and Society in Kenya: From Mediation to Opposition, 1963-1993. London, UK; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002. p.283; Sabar 1996, 380
This concentration aligns with the route of colonial incursion to the East African interior by rail.

[595] Karanja, 8; Sabar 1996, 382

[596] Sabar 1996, 379-380

[597] Ibid., 382

[598] Sabar 2002, 11-12; see also Karanja, 8.

> parish and in expressing their personal views. Through their sermons and catechism classes, the parish clergy are the primary interpreters of Church teachings at the local level. [...] At all periods of the Church's existence in Kenya, its loose structure enabled individual leaders, whether missionaries, bishops, or priests, to choose their stands and speak their minds.[599]

"The diverse ethnic backgrounds of the bishops" and clergy combine with the local constitutional and theological freedoms to allow "the co-existence of considerable variations in theological positions, pastoral styles, and political considerations."[600] This institutional liberty has proved key at moments that church leaders have taken an oppositional stance on social issues of their time.

At the same time, when immersed in political-economic conditions that favor ethnicity-based patronage and systems of clientelism, such freedom of conscience among authority figures can have unwanted repercussions. Although the ACK as a whole is ethnically and economically heterogeneous, at local levels individual churches are still often quite homogeneous. In most areas it is easier – the default – for people to group together with their own tribe. Especially in rural and village settings, remoteness and the established geographic dispersion of tribes results in a circumstantial homogeneity of congregations, reinforced by the use of tribal languages in services.[601] The ACK has thirty-three dioceses, "most of them coterminous with a tribe or sub-tribe";[602] that is to say, diocesan borders hew closely to the linguistic-ethnic borders that align

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[599] Sabar 2002, 13

[600] Karanja, 8

[601] As a note of interest: In some areas, churches have implicitly retained a mono-tribal membership by holding services in one tribal language only, thereby excluding community members who are not part of that tribe. This exclusionary tactic not only closes off Sunday meetings from certain sectors of a community, but also closes access to the economic advantages of a strong church community. In the wake of the 2007-08 post-election violence, it was suggested to some churches that they begin to hold services in Swahili as well as their preferred dialect, in order to open the possibility for a mixed tribal membership. The rationale was to reduce instances of tribe-based divisions in a community, to strengthen relationships between neighbours and so pre-empt future violence. Such a change would also adhere to the loosely articulated national goal of replacing primarily tribe-based self-identification with that of oneself as first 'Kenyan.'

A crucial part of tribal politics in Kenya is the (supposed; promised) economic benefits of tribal allegiance. If a church is, or presents as, a tribal stronghold due to language choice, then it will be assumed that those church members will prioritize one another economically. Though the environment of a church community will benefit its members whether or not the church is tribally homogeneous, in the Kenyan context economic advantages demonstrated by members of a church with exclusionary language practices will be interpreted as resulting from favoritism among members of that tribe. This type of perception increases intertribal tensions due to the sense that one tribe is benefiting at the expense of others.

While the encouragement to conduct services in Swahili is intended to mitigate this source of inter-tribal resentment, it seems likely to have the added effect of drawing more people into the economically beneficial church organization, thus improving the prosperity of that group and their community.

[602] Benson, Paddy. "Faith Engaging Politics: The Preaching of the Kingdom of God" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. p.110

more or less with provincial outlines (or did align until 2012, when provinces were changed to counties).

Though in large part the church has sufficient internal checks and balances to prevent or correct occasions of corrupt clergy, corruption in the church has occurred. This is a particular risk when it comes to development funding, since such funds are often highly fungible, even when carefully designated. The temptation of corruption at the local level is strong even for moral models like clergy, and this is partly why funding and partner organizations have begun to demand a high level of reporting from local NGOs. At the same time, when "development money" is used, e.g., by politicians to purchase campaign support from influential church authorities, there is little that outside donors can do. Nonetheless, the ACK – especially the post-independence church – has on the whole contributed positively to the quality of life of Kenyan citizens under the nation's successive waves of corrupt and oppressive governance.

ii. The ACK and post-Independence Politics

The majority of the ACK's overtly political actions, i.e. not including social action in the form of community services, occurred during the twenty-four year presidency of Daniel Arap Moi, whose autocratic regime succeeded through one-party policy and rigged elections. Mwai Kibaki succeeded Moi in 2002, retaining the presidency until 2013, when he was voted out in favor of Uhuru Kenyatta, son of Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta. Under both Kibaki and the second Kenyatta the church's activism has (so far) been channelled through its development arm, ADS. Since the late nineties the ACK has turned its focus toward engagement with local efforts at changing – or challenging – the political status quo through ADS-run projects: post-election violence counseling, and ethnic sensitivity training of youth and pastors; and increasing voters' empowerment through education about party platforms, promotion of democratic participation, and resistance to political corruption at the local level.

The church's conflicts with the post-independence government began during the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta. Prior to independence, at least until the Mau Mau Rebellion of the fifties, "the colonial government [had] responded to African discontent by conceding to Kenyans the most progressive form of local government to be found in British colonial Africa."[603] In this arrangement, "new district councils gave subjects some of the rights and responsibilities of citizens – if at their own expense in local taxes additional to the taxes owed to central government

[603] Lonsdale 2009, 71

– and placed some checks on the powers of those decentralized despots, the official chiefs."[604] Though this was perhaps not saying much, given the ongoing limitations of physical and economic movement, this was still the beginning of local empowerment and self-governance. As well, the colonial state's ongoing partnership with missionary education had produced many of the politicians that led Kenya through the process of liberation from colonial rule, and who had helped shape the country's independent constitution. Thus, after independence, Kenyatta's recentralization of government and destruction of local government structures and links with the central state "was one of the reasons for the growing coolness between church and state."[605]

Under Kenyatta, the incipient democracy of Kenya was swiftly incapacitated. In 1964, one year after independence, the ruling party, KANU (Kenya African National Union), increased dramatically in size when it was joined by the entire opposition party which, by crossing the parliament floor, created in one fell swoop a *de facto* one-party state. From this point on, Kenyatta consolidated his power by thwarting any potential formation of a new opposition.[606] In 1975, for instance, J.M. Kariuki, a popular and outspoken socialist member of Kenyatta's cabinet who did not hesitate to debate or criticize KANU policy, was brutally murdered while under the protection of Kenyatta's personal bodyguards. His burnt remains were found on an anthill beside a road near Nairobi. News of his death and its circumstances caused a sudden national disillusionment with the KANU government:

> When his murder was known, there were many Gikuyu [*sic*; alternate spelling of Kikuyu], Kenyatta's natural supporters, who were utterly bewildered and weeping. It seemed that the government had just become the opposite of what they had struggled for under colonial rule. Even the imperialists had not perpetrated or permitted assassinations of politicians in government. A heavy cloud settled over the whole nation, which was not removed when an inquiry was set up and then obstructed.[607]

Also under Kenyatta, as described in chapter two, local infrastructural partnerships with the state were replaced by *harambee* schemes. To summarize, *harambee* is a scheme wherein local self-help groups of citizens are meant to gather initial interest, funding, and a building site for, for example, a school or clinic, at which point the central government is to contribute its financial support and technical assistance to the completion and maintenance of these initiatives. However,

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[604] Ibid., 71
[605] Ibid., 91
[606] Karanja, 8
[607] Knighton, 19

this arrangement became corrupted early on, as funds were easily siphoned, and members of parliament and other senior politicians curried political favor and patronage relations through their power to disperse funds. The arrangement shortly devolved into the parochial, ethnicity-based politics of clientelism that characterizes Kenyan politics and *harambee* to this day.

In 1978 Moi succeeded Kenyatta as leader of KANU and of the nation, remaining in power for twenty-four years. The first decade and a half of Moi's time in office was characterized by despotic rule through force and fear, triggered in 1982 by a failed military coup. Moi, a Kalenjin, publicly interpreted the coup as an attempt by politicians from the Luo and Kikuyu tribes to overthrow him in order to gain state power for the benefit of their own ethnic groups. It was under Moi, especially, that ethnicity, or tribe, became a formidable political weapon and a potent source of national division. Moi's skilful wielding of tribal identity to set Kenyans against one another contributed greatly to his long retention of power. Following the coup, Moi excised most Kikuyu and Luo politicians from the KANU cabinet, "and gradually [from] the Civil Service... with many Kalenjin being drafted in. The meritocracy of the Kenyan Civil Service was soon compromised with well-qualified Gikuyu being excluded for the first time in favor of less qualified recruits whom Moi could trust. The situation was ripe for nepotism and clan appropriation of skilled tasks necessary for the maintenance of the state."[608]

Meanwhile, the government was becoming increasingly authoritarian, imprisoning perceived opponents without trial and using torture to extract confessions. Most publicly, it declared Kenya a *de jure* one-party state and legalized single-party rule through constitutional revision.[609] Throughout the 1980s, Moi continued to centralize power in his own hands, with "tighter presidential control of [KANU] administrative bodies, the army, and the judicial system."[610] In 1985 KANU "adopted the queuing system, which," rather than ballots, "required voters to physically line-up behind their preferred candidate or his power"[611] and then be counted by an elections official (to be hired by KANU). Obvious issues with this method – inexact counting and elimination of voter secrecy, which equates to voter intimidation and repression – caused an instant outcry. Nonetheless, in 1986 KANU's "national executive put through a series

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608 Ibid., 21-22
609 Karanja, 8
610 Sabar 1996, 390
611 Sabar, Galia. "'Was There No Naboth to Say No?' Using the Pulpit in the Struggle for Democracy: The Anglican Church, Bishop Gitari, and Kenyan Politics" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. p.129

of electoral revisions aimed at consolidating its power, obliterating all distinction between party and state, and ensuring that candidates for elective office would bear the president's stamp of approval. Among the various means to attain these ends, the most contentious were the decision to abolish the secret ballot and continue the queuing."[612]

Queuing proved to be the abuse of power that finally broke open a wave of protest in Kenya, led in significant part from the pulpits of Kenya's mainstream churches, and supported by international pressure. In 1991 the government repealed the queue voting system, as well as the constitutional changes to legalize one-party rule, and in 1992 Kenya's first multi-party elections were held.[613] Although KANU managed to retain power by vote-rigging, harassing the opposition, and manipulating election results in the 1992 and 1997 elections, in 2002 KANU was defeated by NARC (National Rainbow Coalition), a coalition of parties whose leadership included Mwai Kibaki, who became president, and Raila Odinga, given a vice-presidency.[614]

Besides state violence and coercion, under Moi huge amounts of state funds had been misappropriated through, among many methods, manipulation of the market for cash crops, as well as an export-based scheme that skimmed over ten percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) into private pockets while it ran.[615] Such schemes relied on corruption at the highest levels of government, in cooperation with domestic and foreign banks and corporations. Under Kibaki, despite promises of reform, this corruption did not diminish. The Kibaki government inherited KANU's structures and practices of corruption (e.g. the Anglo-Leasing scheme[616]), and continued to steal from the country even while introducing certain improvements, such as roads and a new constitution, that placated and satisfied citizens and international observers.

The new constitution, adopted in 2010, has yet to be fully implemented, especially given a change in party rule shortly after its adoption. It remains to be seen whether president Uhuru Kenyatta will do more than superficially improve on the governance of his predecessors, and whether he and his cabinet are able (and willing) to do the hard work of overcoming regional and

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[612] Ibid., 130

[613] Karanja, 8; Sabar 1996, 392

[614] Benson, 111; Karanja, 8; Sabar 2002, 278-281

[615] Benson, 96; talking about what is known as the Goldenberg Scandal. (Wikipedia: "Goldenberg Scandal." <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goldenberg_scandal> [Accessed April 30, 2014])

[616] Wikipedia: "Anglo-Leasing scandal" <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Leasing_scandal> [Accessed April 30, 2014] See also Wrong, Michela. It's Our Turn to Eat: The Story of a Kenyan Whistleblower. London, UK: Fourth Estate, 2009.

ethnic disparities and resentments in order to change Kenya's political-economic systems for the better.

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Under Moi, as legal avenues for political dissent were systematically quashed, Kenya's churches emerged as alternative spaces for challenging the government. These challenges were voiced by laity through prayers, the singing of certain hymns, and "the recitation of Kenyatta's old speeches"; and church leaders voiced criticisms in sermons. Many of the lines of the songs and prayers "had double meanings.... [...] Within the various Anglican congregations, these songs, although condemned by the president, were sung in Sunday services [and] before and after (but not during) non-official church gatherings, such as the mothers' meetings, vocational training classes, and church farming groups." The singing of such songs in church did not necessarily represent the political preferences of every ACK congregant, but it was nonetheless "a potent and evocative method of protest in this non-open political system."[617]

Similarly, sermons represented "a long-used vehicle of protest in Kenya, as in the rest of Christian Africa."[618] This had been a practice in the ACK since colonial times, as the Anglican Church is structured to enable such independence of thought and expression. Although in KANU's view the church's role "was to preach personal piety, resignation, obedience, and peace – and to avoid politics," the church argued that it had a "moral imperative to guide the politicians by speaking out against the evils in society."[619] Perhaps more formidably, the church and its handful of charismatic leaders also represented real oppositional power with the ability "to mobilize thousands of men and women to various socio-political causes."[620] In the late 1980s, for example, at the peak of his contestation of Moi's abuses of power, under constant threat and surveillance by KANU, Bishop David Gitari preached to thousands of people each Sunday, sermons that were often then published in the Monday papers for mass consumption. In 1989, on the Sunday immediately following a serious attempt on his life, he delivered three sermons to a congregation of 33,000 people, a move that made him "immortally untouchable."[621]

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[617] Sabar 1996, 391-392 (all quotes this paragraph)
[618] Sabar 2009, 128-129; see also 136.
[619] Ibid., 124
[620] Ibid., 125
[621] Knighton, 28-29
As I discuss the work of Gitari and the other Anglican bishops, it should be noted that some of the Kalenjin bishops did not appreciate the oppositional stance, as they and their parishes stood to benefit from Moi's rule. See Knighton, 24.

Prominent clergy who publicly opposed various actions of the state, especially under Moi, include Anglican Archbishop Manasses Kuria (d.2005), Bishops Henry Okullu (d.1999) and Alexander Muge (d.1990[622]), Bishop (and then Archbishop) David Gitari (d.2013), and Presbyterian minister Dr. Timothy Njoya (occasionally tweeting from @timothynjoya). In collaboration with clergymen from other denominations these leaders consistently and repeatedly spoke out against the political machinations of KANU, through sermons, public statements in the media, the formation of ecumenical organizations that mounted mass demonstrations, and appeals to the international conscience. Moi's repeal of the constitutional legalization of the one-party state, as well as of queue-voting, is attributed in large part to the political activism of Kenya's churches in combination with international pressure (which the churches helped to raise). With these victories in hand, KANU's re-election in 1992 was a blow to the clergy's fighting spirit. Nonetheless they rallied in preparation for the 1997 election, enough to establish the ecumenical NCEC (National Convention Executive Council) for the promotion of constitutional change and a limit on presidential terms. They also joined "with the three main opposition parties and other groups to mount several [still illegal] mass demonstrations"[623] despite serious risk of violent reprisal from the state.

In 1997, pro-democracy demonstrators were chased by state security forces into the All-Saints Cathedral in Nairobi, where many were severely beaten. The following Sunday, a public cleansing service was held in the cathedral, where Moi's actions were condemned by clergy, with the support of international church leaders. Two days later a group of church leaders met with Moi. In combination with international pressure for reform, Moi soon issued an automatic official permission for public rallies, and a promise to begin constitutional reforms.[624] Though KANU won the 1997 election it still signalled the beginning of the end, since the parliamentary majority required to make constitutional changes and to manipulate the electoral system was lost (and then also conceded). In 2002 Kibaki took office, and while Gitari and other leaders continued to preach against corruption and exploitation, the big showdowns as under the Moi regime were in the past.

David Gitari, bishop of Mount Kenya East and Kirinyaga Dioceses, from 1975 to 1996, and Archbishop of the ACK from 1997 until his retirement in 2002, was active throughout the

[622] In a road accident following threats by then KANU labor minister, Peter Okondo.
[623] Sabar 2002, 278-279, 281
[624] Knighton, 31-33

years of protest. Through sermons and ecumenism he guided church leaders into meeting what he saw as the God-given prophetic mandate of the church to judge the state, since the state has authority through God and so must live up to godly standards of righteousness. In his activism, Gitari considered himself to be following the examples of the prophets of the bible, which he considered a calling to all Christian leaders. In his view, "in order to bear witness to the truth of the Word of God, to the liberating power of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of God, the church was to engage in a distinctive detachment, a creative participation in society, and 'the prophetic ministry of Judgment.'" "Judgment," for Gitari, meant "'that the Church will constantly remind people of the standard of righteousness which alone exalts a nation. [...] The Christian community must be an ever-present reminder to the State that it exists only as the servant of God and man.'"[625] In later years Gitari's sermons would "disclose his understanding of the root of a 'prophetic ministry' [in which] the Christian leader is called upon to destroy and overthrow the kingdom of Satan.'"[626]

Besides a prophetic mandate, Gitari's political activism was also rooted in his interpretation of the creation mandate and of the doctrine of the incarnation. The purpose of all created life, in his view, was "to participate in God's creativity," guidelines for which are found in the stewardship mandate of Genesis 1:26-28, a directive for humanity as a whole (not just leaders). This humanity-wide mandate to care for creation includes the care of other humans, not only non-human nature. This care was exemplified and extended, Gitari continued, through the incarnation and life of Christ, which "gives Christians the further mandate to be deeply involved in the social, economic, and political affairs of the world. [...] In his earthly life, Jesus did not live in an ivory tower of meditative asceticism. Nor was his ministry exclusively concerned with spiritual matters." Rather, he went out into the world of economics and politics, and engaged with the people and processes there.[627]

Gitari observed that in the gospels, "the main theme of Jesus' preaching was the Kingdom of God. This kingdom... is both [now and not yet]." Just as "every healing act of Jesus was a foretaste of the Kingdom," so should Christians "participate in socio-political activities to give people a chance to taste the kingdom of God here on earth."[628] Gitari envisioned church ministry

[625] Knighton, 26; 1986 quote from Gitari
[626] Benson, 114: a 1996 quote from Gitari
[627] Karanja, 14
[628] Ibid., 15

as for the healing of society, a ministration which he said "required a priesthood who could 'challenge the present generation' and who kept up to date with current affairs." As a leading figure in the National Council of Churches of Kenya as well as in the Anglican denomination and parish, Gitari "laid the theological groundwork for [the church's] assumption of the prophetic role... that the ancient prophets had assumed in inveighing against the wrongs of the rulers in biblical times. Among other things, [this groundwork] argued that keeping silent about political abuses was itself a political act"[629] in support of injustice.

Examining the political-theological discourse of Gitari and others, Paddy Benson suggests that "leaders of the Anglican church and other churches possess a framework, a political meta-narrative that integrates their interventions in national affairs... . This meta-narrative," he says, "can be summed up as the Kingdom (or kingship) of God. If God is King, then other forces – once Roman emperors, today Kenyan presidents – are not. Their authority is diminished; their power is relativized. The kingship of Christ is far more than an obscure doctrinal formula. It is the heart of the apostles' message. It declares Christ's lordship, explains God's purpose of redemption, and demands our submission to him."[630] Within this general narrative of the sovereignty of God in and over creation, though, are multiple articulations and interpretations of its import and applicability to political particularities. These articulations, as all theologies, develop out of an author's or cleric's personal experiences and with a view to the audience as well. For example, Gitari also preached sermons against injustices in his own diocese, especially land-grabbing and misappropriation of funds from vulnerable segments of society, peasant farmers and local organizations.[631] This local concern lent strength and credence to his nationally-oriented messages. It also served to unite people in his diocese to help defend one another and build bulwarks against an authoritatively identified common foe, and cemented his reputation and regional favor as an ACK bishop and archbishop. In the Mount Kenya East, later Kirinyaga, diocese, Gitari did much more than preach, he also instigated the organization of a network of Anglican community service centres (known as Christian Community Services, and now Anglican Development Services) to help his parishioners out of the poverty in which they struggled during decades of government apathy and repression.[632]

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[629] Sabar 2009, 133, 128
[630] Benson, 113
[631] Ibid., 105
[632] One informant, Mary Gicobi, a staff member of CCS Wang'uru/Mwea, informed me that Gitari can be credited

Another politically vocal Anglican clergyman, Bishop Okullu, who moved between Kenya, the UK, and Uganda, training as a journalist while serving as a priest, believed that "both Church and state have a divine origin, but they are quite distinct in their goals."[633] Historian John Karanja quotes Okullu as arguing that, "'The state is created to keep law and order in society. Without outward civil order, no society can exist at all. The Church, on the other hand, is instituted by God to bring the mind of God to bear upon total human life and to contribute to the building of value systems upon which a sound human society may be built.'"[634]

Okullu's view of justice was that it "is the chief principle of God's intervention in the world." This is a multi-dimensional understanding of God's justice. First, it is universal and holistic, not bound to Christians only. Second, it is communal, not to be reduced to individual self-interest. Third, derived from the covenant relationship of the Israelites, social justice is an expression of God's love, which is a liberating love. Fourth, "creative and interventionist," God's justice propels the Church's social activities in the community and the search for redistributive economic justice and a restructuring of oppressive systems." Finally, God's justice is also called righteousness, and as such it is relational, manifested in deeds that enhance life in a community. It is seen in acts of mercy and forgiveness, of redemption, creation, and recreation, and in Christ's proclamation of the Kingdom of God and his words for the poor and oppressed. Because God's justice is distributively fair, and because it "protects the value and dignity of the individuals who compose society," Okullu campaigned passionately for democratic rights and freedoms under Moi.[635]

While there is less written on Okullu's views than on Gitari's,[636] it is nonetheless clear that Okullu's approach to Christian social justice, modelled on God's covenant relationship with his people, is of a different weave than Gitari's, modelled on the prophets, though in the end the two cloths work together well. The combination of these representative ideas about the ACK's political duties and principles can today be found in the various ways that ADS implements social justice methods in its development strategy and programming.

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with starting CCS. I'm not sure if she meant in all of Kenya, but she certainly meant in Mount Kenya East diocese, which served Kenya's largest province until 2014, when all provinces were divided into counties.

633 Karanja, 10

634 Ibid., 13

635 Ibid., 12-13

636 Okullu served in Nyanza Province at the country's south-western border, which might explain to an extent the smaller amount of documentation of his work in comparison to leaders like Gitari, who lived and worked in and near Central Province, within the geographic boundaries of the political centre.

Conclusion

I conclude this chapter with some reflections on the Anglican Church's ambiguous position within Kenyan society and history since the arrival of the early missionaries, the type of power that the church therefore represents, and how this power manifests in the formation and character of community services offered by the church. I suggest that when offering development services, or acting as an NGO, the church's ambiguity becomes dual. Not only does it carry on its historic position "betwixt and between" oppressive state and agentic citizenry, it also now, in the new international aid economy, participates in and thus represents the political-economic ambiguity of aid: on one hand crafted by the self-interest of powerful states and funding bodies, while on the other hand suggesting generous benefits for those who can learn to maximize aid in a savvy way.

i. Ambivalences of Colonial and Post-Colonial Church Power

It is clear that missionaries in East Africa occupied a conflicted, ambivalent, and paradoxical site when it came to relations between Africans and the colonial state. While on one hand motivations of mission field recruits may have contained theoretical openings for the fair treatment of Africans, circumstances helped to create an, at best, paternalistic style of care for African well-being. However disparate the means and ultimate, imagined ends, missionaries and colonialists shared a "civilising" goal. For the missionaries this involved getting people into the mission communities, but was also a matter of moral and behavioral socialization to British Christian cultural norms. The work of missions to "establish 'sentiments of loyalty to the crown' in their students,"[637] worked for the benefit of missionary goals because it was of benefit to Empire and to settlers, both of which parties therefore became more amenable to missions. Though aware of their compromised position, missionaries also believed that such socialization would be in the best spiritual *and* material interests of their students.

Besides the (easy yet often inadvertent) complicity inherent in the policy of cooperation and the doctrine of trusteeship, European mission personnel occupied an ambivalent space due to their whiteness and their social belonging in the white-European community, regardless of their views on its politics. Not only was that their default community, they relied on it, and also understandably felt a degree of loyalty to it. Yet this belonging and loyalty resulted in a number of situations where the missionaries found themselves manipulated by other Europeans, acting against their will or choosing among undesirable paths, in order to not entirely forfeit their

[637] Strayer 1978, 101

goals.[638]

Some assessments characterize missions as "nothing more" than the religious arm of colonial imperialism. In many ways, especially taking the global imperial project as a whole, this evaluation is correct. In Kenya,

> the mission clearly made itself available in many ways to assist in the articulation of the colonial state and became in fact part of its mechanism of communication with and control of the African population. Missionaries were asked to report on local political conditions and on occasion had to be cautioned abut excessive zeal in this regard. In 1901 the CMS agreed to use its influence to encourage the payment of the government's hut tax. [...] Missions were also willingly used to recruit and train the lower level of the government and commercial bureaucracies.[639]

And yet, missionaries presented a far from homogeneous point of view on this assistance and frequently, even if naively, hoped that their cooperation would turn out to be less complicit and more subversive. While it is easy to judge this hope as having failed abjectly, even some of the harshest critiques have come to mixed conclusions. While African nationalist historiographers "have been bitterly critical of missionary arrogance and have deeply regretted aspects of the world they have lost, partly through mission activity, they [have simultaneously] regarded missions-inspired efforts at modernization as fundamentally progressive and believed that missions... contributed, albeit unwittingly, to political independence...".[640] This assessment of the long term impact of missions is echoed by many historians of colonialism, who confirm that while colonial missionaries believed "that it was their prerogative to control and order change; ironically, at the same time they provided the tools for change and the impetus for change that they could not control."[641]

In her work on the Anglican church in post-independence Kenya, Galia Sabar affirms that this ambivalent, mediating, and often uncertain relationship between the powers of church and state and the powers and well-being of African citizens remains that way today. Sabar examines the development of the church into a socio-political force both in the daily lives of Kenyan Christians in a harsh political climate, as well as "a religious body with a sacred mission and a

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[638] For example the question of whether native converts should be taught tribe loyalty or should be "developed," in the mission schools. (Neither of which, clearly and as will be seen in the discussion of "conversion" in this chapter, was a choice entirely up to the Europeans.) See Strayer 1978, 102.
[639] Strayer 1978, 100
[640] Ibid., 1
[641] Reed, 173

sacred authority [that stands] above and apart from society" and engages critically with the state from this position.[642] With others, she identifies the Kenyan church's role in the struggle for democratic freedoms as rooted in the colonial period and the complex mediative role played by missionaries at that time.

Despite robust opposition to the regime by prominent clerics, the position of the post-independence ACK in Kenyan society remained an ambivalent one due to its history as a colonial authority with ambiguous ties to state power, able to yield benefit or harm. Post-independence, the church was criticized for not doing enough, or soon enough, and like most churches in Africa has been accused of continued complicity by "perpetuating neocolonialism through its alliance with corrupt and oppressive political leaders and serving the interests of the rich and powerful."[643] The institutional power of the ACK has shielded not only iconoclasts like Gitari et al., but also protected less politically virtuous behaviors.

Paddy Benson's critique of the church's lack of commitment to public condemnation of ethnic bias in Kenyan politics and society, for example, highlights an area where the church has shown less fortitude despite the determination of leaders to bring the government to task. Benson argues that Anglican and other churches' critiques of government should include recognition of their own place and role within the social systems that help perpetuate negative ruling practices in the first place, which includes systems of ethnic isolationism and patronage (systems that were introduced under colonialism). He writes, "the old missionary comity arrangements sanctified the link between denomination and ethnic group, and... the denominations came to be the bearers of traditional ethnic aspirations in the modern world. Consequently, it was always going to be difficult for the churches to develop a critique of ethnic competition, since ethnic allegiance was built into their foundations."[644] This history has generated within the churches an ambivalence of belonging wherein as an institution it is Kenyan and tribally inclusive and yet, or therefore, consistently troubled by a cross-tribal mainstay of Kenyan culture: the necessity and value of "belonging" and its mirror image, tribal rivalry.

It is seen that, while the church holds tremendous promise as a positive transformative social force, it is also a reflection of the society with which it is entwined. As exemplified by conversion, and "Christianisation" vs. "Africanisation," the influence of the Anglican Church

[642] Sabar 2002, 4-5, 10
[643] Sabar 2002, 281
[644] Benson, 108-109

within Kenyan society has always been a dialectic. To transform society a church must engage with various types of social powers and must to an extent, even in order to communicate, reflect back to those powers their own interpretations of and desires for the church and its power and potential. In colonial times this was seen in missionaries' simultaneous cooperation with the state and cooptation by converts (or, vice versa, cooperation with converts and cooptation by the state). Post-colonially, in becoming through its development activities, for example, "an integral part of society, an instrument of its transformation, and a power that the government [has] to reckon with,"[645] the church has become Kenyan and, like Kenyans, is subject to and a carrier of the demands of that status. On one hand, this means the inheritance of certain positive social-traditional values and mores. On the other hand its own history has bred within it a susceptibility to the types of harmful division that exist in Kenyan society, especially ethnic rivalry.

More than these problems, though, the church's ambiguous socio-political status – colonialist but Africanist; powerful but malleable; converting but converted – has historically conferred a multiplicity of potential to the church and its leaders and members, thus functioning as a camouflaging, liminal property. Any person's purpose and trajectory within the church, in other words, might be hidden or disguised, since the church is inherently politically indistinct, bound by no hierarchical dictates, open to the whole heterogeneous mixture of Kenyan positions, relations, and needs. This was of benefit to its socially disaffected first converts, and the appeal remains today for people seeking to change their social relations for the better, without necessarily appearing to have rejected their community or society. As Galia Sabar has put it, the advantage of the church's ambiguous status, especially under oppressive regimes, was and is that by joining or participating in the church, "believers [have] created a means of escaping the dominant order without overtly doing so."[646]

Throughout its history, the ACK has "provided a large variety of educational, health care and economic services [which,] together with its array of everyday activities, have given its community a means of coping with the harsh reality of life in a country with a failing economy and increasingly repressive government – and potentially the power to resist it."[647] As a means of escaping and even challenging the dominant order, this type of service should be categorized together with more vocal, explicit types of discourse such as public sermons and subversive

[645] Sabar 2009, 126
[646] Sabar 1996, 395
[647] Sabar 2002, 284-285

hymns. It is one of a spectrum of ways in which citizens, no longer required to convert, are helped and encouraged by the church to resist and withstand an oppressive political economy, to risk seeking better conditions without fear of forfeiting what they currently have.

ii. The Church and Development, Ambiguous Still

This early history of missionary insistence on health and educational services to Kenyans, in combination with their resistance to full state servitude, suggests that, beyond their utility as a necessary provision for spiritual conversion to occur, community services were from the beginning a subversive political act, despite the missions' undeniable symbiotic relationship with colonial powers. It is my sense that this subversion, as well as the political ambiguity described above, have been continuous, and are an ongoing dynamic of development work today.

Within the communities that I visited, the effects of church- or faith-based NGO work have been overwhelmingly positive. What I observed echoes and even exceeds Sabar's point that, besides invaluable practical help and skills, development and community service projects "also made the church into a vital social centre... [providing] opportunities for people to meet, discuss their problems, and try to protect their interests as a group. For the poor, semi-literate people who make up the bulk of the Church's constituency, especially in the rural areas, Church groups are the only formal social organizations in which they participate."[648]

Services and projects so far initiated by the ACK include "thousands of women's groups, youth movements, literacy classes, [and] community networks" under the auspices of each diocese's education, health, development, women and youth departments. Special projects are designed and implemented according to local needs, such as "water boreholes, petrol stations, small business ventures, women's [income-generating] projects, and specific agricultural and vocational-industrial training courses." The church has established polytechnic schools, agricultural training farms and experimental plots, and has offered training in ranch management and crop husbandry, adult literacy, bookkeeping, and handcrafts such as beading and leatherwork. Church officials in the past, and now ADS office and field workers, "read and [write] letters for people... help them fill in forms, explain official documents," and let them use church and office premises and resources (which are scarce, but still more than that to which most have access).[649]

As community services have mitigated the shortcomings of government provision over

[648] Ibid., 284
[649] Sabar 1996, 378, 383-384; Sabar 2002, 284-285

time, those short-comings are also then steadily revealed for what they are: not a lack, but an official choice, and effectively a prohibition on human flourishing. For example, to repeat an earlier citation, though education and health facilities were nationalized in 1965 and 1968, "in practice, in all but the largest facilities, the role of the church continued with only minor changes."[650] Further, mismanagement of nationalized services meant (and means) that, in some cases, churches have had to increase their services in order to make up for government lacunae. Through these practices, writes Sabar, in the post-colonial context:

> the churches extended their influence beyond the realm of spirituality and pietistic performance and encompassed activities of basic survival in both urban and rural settings. To believers, the church became the most active and persistent [and credible] voice in the Kenyan political discourse. Moreover, believers found their church membership to be one of the most practical tools in their daily struggle for survival.[651]

The political and oppositional character of development aid can also be seen in the withdrawal and redaction of the church's outspoken mission against the state into the strengthening of service and development work following KANU's win in the 1992 election.[652] Rather than continue the route of overt protest directed at political leadership, it seems that churches have diverted their energies into grassroots change from within the trenches of citizen awareness and empowerment.[653]

As made clear in chapters one and two, though, aid is a highly political sphere and so the church's move away from the spotlight should not be mistaken for a reduction of political activity. Beyond intimations of subversion are aid's entanglements with the politics of local, national, and international leadership, cooperation and coercion. Aid works through and in this sense reinforces, if not legitimizes, existent channels of distribution, communication, and hierarchy, both local – for example the clientelist networks of the *harambee* scheme – and international. Local authorities are known to interrupt and intervene in the dispersal of funds and materials; areas with better political connections and of more prominent political interest receive

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650 Sabar 1996, 381-382
651 Ibid., 284
652 Sabar 2009, 139
653 Pointing out the intrinsically subversive and oppositional political nature of community services and development work is not to say that ADS and the Kenyan government are in a state of constant conflict. Development and community services are an area of practice where the church and government *do* work together, and for the most part this is a positive relationship. Government access to expertise and funding is central to the success of ADS's projects which, as well, must be approved by local officials. However, in my view, this officially cooperative relationship does not negate the simultaneous facts of the ambiguity of development power, its inherent oppositionality, and the difficult dynamics of change and hope that it involves.

more attention; and projects are not always necessarily what a community most needs but are often what a donor or development organization most needs to have happen in order to get more "results" and funding. Meanwhile, national policy-making is subject to terms and conditions set by international observers and lenders, which affect the daily lives of citizens more than of the politicians who agree to them. This directly affects the types and terms of aid that are available to any one community. These conditions are not peculiar to Kenya but exist for all economies that rely on incoming aid.

ADS, as will be seen clearly in chapter six, is certainly not immune to the politics of aid dispersal, programming, monitoring and evaluation, and it seems to me that this situation can be justly compared to the early church's state of necessary compromise with the imperial state. On one hand, by participating in aid, ADS joins the many thousands of organizations that are complicit in the ongoing acceptance of the current global economic state of affairs in which, rather than leveling the playing field, things stay tilted and the West directs the flow of beneficence from out of its wealth. At the same time, given the vast currents of the realities at play, ADS is pragmatic in accessing that which is available and then employing certain of those resources to equip citizens to better engage politically at home.

At the same time that this is considered an ambivalence it might also be noted, as by Bornstein and Smith, cited in chapter one, that the ACK's extension into the sphere of international development aid via ADS is a continuation of the church's tradition of political participation in Kenya. In other words, a continuation of the non-distinction between religion and politics in the Kenyan environment. Part of the "Africanisation of Christianity," this is a non-distinction engineered by "converts" who have always employed Christianity to political and economic ends. Chapter six continues to examine this dynamic within the complex relationship between ADS and the Kenyan communities with whom it works.

CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFERENCE: CHRISTIAN BEHAVIOR AND EMPOWERMENT IN RURAL KENYA

Introduction

This chapter is an analysis of data collected in three regions of Kenya through conversations with staff of Anglican Development Services of the Anglican Church of Kenya, and with participants in rural community development programs that ADS runs. Combined with secondary sources, I use this data to illustrate the political, economic, and religious history and circumstances within which ADS in Kenya in the 2010s conducts its development work. I conclude that these historical-material conditions lead to contextually derived and constructed behavioral codes or standards by which a Christian organization and its representatives are identified. Any organization wishing to be recognized as Christian must adhere to these codes in order to be effective.

The data reveals that ADS and its development praxis are crucial elements of an ongoing process of meaning-making in contexts of chronic insecurity. The demands made of ADS as an organization that, by claiming Christianity, claims exceptionality are rigorous, and they extend in turn to people and communities that choose to affiliate with ADS and its work. These demands, or parameters, are part of ongoing local constructions of Christianity. The demands on ADS are demands for behaviors that are categorically Christian, a category that is historically and geographically contingent (Weber's Puritans; or the Christian right-wing in parts of the United States, are other examples of this dynamic). In Kenya, these demands are for behaviors that are deemed accountable or trustworthy according to local measures; and these behaviors that signify Christianity also signal certain socio-economic tendencies and thus advantages. As a local Christian non-government organization (NGO), ADS is both responsible for and responsible to these behavioral codes. ADS perpetuates and legitimates these codes by adhering to them and also thereby accrues value to Christian status in these Kenyan contexts. These behaviors are "proof" of Christianity.

Christianity in this dynamic is thus imbued with particular circumstantial force or legitimacy, that is, it is made meaningful through practices. As a means of participation in these

behavioral codes, development aid has the possibility to reflect and produce Christian meaning, and to be guided by the demand that it do so, in contextually particular ways. The Christian meaning produced through faith-based development aid in the locales that I examine is one of alterity and empowerment.

The orienting question of my fieldwork in Kenya was whether and how the "faith" of "faith-based" affects development aid in practice. What I discovered is a thick story of Christianity, about aid, hope, and tradition, as embedded in the long histories of people, places, and encounters within external and remote structures of power. This ongoing story of Christianity and aid is articulated in the local codes of behaviors and expectations that I found at work in development discourse. Because of the history of Christianity and aid, the Christianity of ADS does make a discernible and significant difference for its praxis and results – it subjects ADS to exacting scrutiny. To deploy its development strategies in these conditions ADS must always be exemplary; in the process, ADS mitigates multiple types of risk and supports the empowerment of individuals and communities. The description of this process shows ways that Christianity "matters" for ADS – that is, ways in which, in this particular context or *habitus*, faith and belief, the ephemeral and intangible stuff of Christian adherence, become substantive, embodied and made vital in socio-economic structures, acts, and relationships.

In sum, the objective context and history within which ADS works is always in dialectic with social processes, therefore its development praxis is physically and conceptually subject to historical contingencies as well as social shifts. Social processes produce contemporary expectations of Christianity, of NGOs, and (therefore) of faith-based NGOs (FBNGOs) in rural Kenya. At this point in time the central demand is for accountability. Behaviors that demonstrate Christian accountability (aka trustworthiness) are signs and signifiers of Christianity itself as well as, importantly, of the benefits that accrue to these signs, that is, advantages that accrue to accountability and to trustworthy behaviors. In this way Christianity, or Christian behavior, becomes associated with advantage, both material and relational.

Sources and details of the behaviors and advantages correlated with Christianity comprise the bulk of this chapter. The behaviors are comparative and oppositional, signifying within these communities a higher caliber of accountability and trustworthiness than secular NGOs and government representatives are locally experienced as demonstrating. Advantages of Christian accountability extend in multiple directions, which in my case study are linked to ADS's position

as a Christian organization, and to community association with ADS (and thus, again, its position). In Bourdieuian terms, advantage is relational, tied to proximity (physical or reputational) with ADS and the social recognition of both that location and its value. A significant feature of this advantage is its capacity to legitimate the emergence of new norms, which supports the subversion of negative (destructive or obstructive) norms by empowered groups and individuals.

The behavior that proves ADS's distinctive status as a Christian NGO in Kenya is its unique development praxis. ADS and its approach to development are juxtaposed with normative expectations for an NGO and for a poor person's life that arise out of the combined political-economic, aid, and religious histories of rural Kenya. These local norms are used here to illustrate the historical-material bases by which ADS becomes uniquely valued. Each example is of a particular context in and to which ADS, in order to be effective and recognized as legitimate, must respond in a way that is exemplary, that is, that distinguishes it from prior agents in a way that is meaningful to the people there, who expect both much and little.

The first context I describe is the history of Christianity in Kenya, and local experiences of FBNGOs. In Kenya, as elsewhere, Christian history is ambiguous. It has been colonialist, "co-opted,"[654] and politicized – but it has also served as a route away from restrictive and oppressive cultural practices. Mainstream Protestantism in Kenya has a fraught history with corrupt state governance and FBNGOs have, in addition, often been exclusivist, with aid "tied" to conversion (or to mimicry of words and actions). As a mainstream Protestant Christian NGO within this ongoing history, ADS in order to prove itself must distinguish itself from negative aspects of these histories while adhering to positive aspects.

Second, I look at experiences that many Kenyans have had with foreign and national NGOs that are not faith-based. These experiences, overwhelmingly described as being "cheated," inform expectations of subsequent NGOs and have created a reluctance in many people to engage with development programs again. The "cheating" behavior of NGOs includes unreliability, corruption, embezzling, desertion, incomplete projects, poor planning, and non-commitment and is a significant aspect of ADS's context, even when ADS is the only NGO on hand. Therefore ADS's praxis must consistently and emphatically demonstrate that it will not cheat communities

[654] Gifford, Paul. "Christianity Co-Opted" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 201-221

in any way.

The third facet of context consists of local norms, often labeled “tradition” or “culture,” that ADS helps program participants to shift, avoid, or remove from their lives. I examine several of these norms: farming and agricultural practices, wealth linked with authority, corruption, gender roles and segregations, and dependency culture. Though I highlight these practices as separate issues, they are overlapping and intertwined with each other and with the influences of outside agents in the political-economic history of Kenya.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of ADS's praxis as risk-mitigation and empowerment, and how this helps people circumvent and reinvent structures and norms that are economically damaging. The legitimacy of ADS as an agent or facilitator of change is found in its reliability, and it proves its reliability by being a consistent (accountable) source of risk mitigation. Because change involves risk, poor people often maintain obstructive, even destructive, economic practices, reasoning that it is better to continue to achieve predictable if dire results than to try for better, fail, and emerge with even less. This risk-aversion is often mistaken for preference, or even tradition. ADS helps communities to discover their real preferences by mitigating risks involved in doing so. When this process is successful, a virtuous cycle of legitimate and legitimating socio-economic change begins, in which affiliation with ADS is key.

I. Anglican Development Services

The grassroots, Kenyan, faith-based community development NGO that is known today as Anglican Development Services, emerged out of the entanglement of colonial missions church and post-independence state. Throughout its history in Kenya the Anglican church has provided a variety of educational, health, and economic services to marginalized groups. Anglican missionaries established mission schools in Kenya even before the serious work of colonization by the British had begun. Against the wishes of white settlers, missionaries fought to educate Africans, convincing the British government to contribute to their costs and materials. At the beginning, these services were offered as incentives for conversion, but soon came to be understood as an essential material component of spiritual evangelism: a person must be bodily secure to make sincere spiritual transformation. Though the church's motivations have shifted, the practice has remained, permitting these services to build over time and become part of local landscapes and narratives.

After independence, colonial infrastructure linking regional government outposts with public funds and programming administered by the central state was dissolved in favor of *harambee*, a scheme under which local community groups would initiate projects and then apply for state support. With a widespread infrastructure of people and influence in place via the long-established Anglican Church, ADS has been able to help communities with the self-help requirements of *harambee*, a contribution that continues to be a central part of its work.

In addition, though education and health facilities were nationalized in 1965 and 1968, as stated in chapter five in all but the largest facilities the role of the church in these services did not significantly alter. In some cases their role even increased, since government contributions were and are not always reliable. With fungibility and corruption often leaving communities in the lurch, the role of non-state actors proportionally increased in importance. The ACK (Anglican Church of Kenya), with its parish system and network of ADS sub-stations has emerged as a particularly important local actor.

Post-independence, Anglican clergy for a time continued the missionary model of having both a practical and a clerical skill set, in order to be able to deliver both material and spiritual succor. As of 1984, however, the ACK leadership determined that this was too great a demand on clergy, who were becoming ill-equipped for and outstripped by the needs in Kenya. Instead, the ACK formed a separate development institution called Christian Community Services (CCS), which it registered with the government in order to benefit from official NGO status.[655]

ADS's historical and ongoing structural and genealogical connection with the ACK gives it several types of advantage as an NGO. Alongside the Catholic Church the ACK is, by measure of infrastructure and membership, the most widespread church in the country. The ACK has thirty-three dioceses, and within these "most villages have several parishes that are in some kind of communication or partnership"[656] with each other. This allows ADS to reach a wide swathe of the Kenyan population, both urban and rural.

ADS is distributed in Kenya through nine regional divisions. These once aligned roughly with Kenya's provincial borders but, since the country's internal reorganization in 2013 into counties rather than provinces, the divisions now reflect geographical divides and tribal

[655] Stoddard, Elisabeth. "A Discussion with Bwibo Adieri and Peter Nyorsok, Anglican Development Services." Interview, Nairobi, Kenya. Georgetown University: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, & World Affairs. 11 November, 2014. <http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/interviews/a-discussion-with-bwibo-adieri-and-peter-nyorsok-anglican-development-services> [Accessed 13 August, 2015.]

[656] Ibid.

dispersions more than anything. Each of ADS's nine regional offices sources funding independently "and therefore, have different area foci... depending on the interests of their partners."[657] This statement indicates a certain level of donor-driven priorities, a quandary touched on later in this chapter as well as in chapter two. Regardless of this issue, however, there are certain programs and types of work that ADS can be said to focus on, and that are practiced to some degree in all of the regions.

A rough categorical list of the programming would include agriculture, health, business, and civic education, though all of these spheres are really inextricable from one another in the overall movement toward sustainable prosperity and empowerment. Under agriculture are included land management practices like composting, crop rotation, inter-cropping and no-till farming, as well as low-cost, low-tech, high-yield improvements like kitchen gardens, drip irrigation, and "Nine Seed Holes" for concentrated maize growing. People are encouraged to cultivate indigenous crops, to bank seeds, and to approach farming "as a business" rather than haphazardly or as a tradition. Small animal husbandry is a significant part of this new business frame of mind, with dairy goats, rabbits, and poultry contributing to composting and to the self-contained, sustainable and organic practices that ADS promotes. Beekeeping, too, is promoted as an agricultural business.

Besides the above, ADS provides technical support for the digging of water pans (communities do the actual digging themselves) and for the building of sand dams and other means to create access to clean water and to water for crops and animals. In terms of health, some sub-locations in remote areas offer mobile Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT; for HIV/AIDS) and vaccination clinics. Across the board ADS provides health education and support with programs like Stepping Stones (HIV/AIDS sensitivity training combined with sex education and relationship coping strategies) and OVC support groups for communities impacted by the loss of parents to HIV/AIDS. ADS's business programs help support farmers by offering training in things like record keeping and planning, as well as training and support for Village Savings and Loans (VSL) groups. Some ADS's can also provide small business loans. ADS does not self-promote, but rather requires groups to approach it independently. Promotion of ADS programs occurs primarily by word of mouth, its reputation spread by groups that have benefited from its

[657] Ibid. Quote from Peter Nyorsok, program coordinator for ADS Kenya, in charge of Capacity Building and Institutional Strengthening.

help and advice.

Possibly the most significant aspect of ADS's work, both in terms of the strength that it lends to other programs and in terms of the effect that it has on the overall confidence and concomitant well-being of communities, is the advocacy and civic capacity building that it does on behalf of and within Kenyan communities. In addition to an inclusive mandate, with its civic education programming ADS replicates at the local level the ACK's history of national level political non-partisanship and advocacy. Through civic education, communities learn what are their rights as citizens, and what types of government behaviors to accept, expect, and reject. Bwibo Adieri, director of ADS Kenya, lists four ways that ADS builds local capacity on governance issues. First, "training local representatives in the budgeting process so that they can hold the county governments accountable by monitoring their finances"; second, training clergy in "social auditing skills" to help them be able to "scrutinize [local] budgets"; "empower[ing] the clergy... to organize the people and ensure that [legislated] local forums" for citizen input into national affairs actually take place; and finally "teaching communities on how to vet local and national election candidates" by creating a "vetting scorecard" for citizens to use.[658] In addition to these, ADS staff in several areas described to me some of the content of what they teach communities, such as what should be expected (and demanded) of local government extension officers, or that a political candidate who hands out money during a campaign is not likely the best long term choice for a county.

Before any kind of programming or training can be started, however, ADS requires an interested group to undertake a process of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Asset Identification. PRA describes methods of evaluation that access and utilize local knowledge of contexts to design development programming, enabling "local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act."[659] Asset Identification is a type of PRA that helps communities to examine their selves and their social-material environments in a new light, to identify traits and resources not previously recognized as assets with the potential to be leveraged for self-help. ADS explains these self-evaluation methods to a self-help group or community-based organization, which is then required to complete the evaluation on its own. This requirement and the implied confidence that participants are capable

[658] Ibid. Quotes from Bwibo Adieri, Director of ADS Kenya.
[659] Chambers, Roger. "The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal." *World Development*. Vol.22, No.7, 1994, 953-969. p.953

of accomplishing it is the first step on the ADS-led road to empowerment.

Local field staff, through their consistent presence and encouragement and, as will be seen, their adherence to "Christian" behavioral expectations, build trust and confidence in communities over time, contrasting histories of misbehavior, neglect, and top-down disconnect. Unlike outside donors, or short-term projects, ADS's approach involves face to face visits with community-based organizations (CBOs) and self-help groups (SHGs) over the course of a program's implementation. When describing the long-term arc of what ADS aims to do, field staff and community members often use terms of changing mindsets – changing habits and points of view. This is a process of empowerment wherein people come to see themselves differently in the world; as inhabiting different fields of power and possibility than they have to date. This change of mind affects points of view on farming, health, relationships and money, and on what a person considers possible to change in the face of omnipresent corruption. Empowerment also affects their views of NGOs, what is appropriate NGO behavior, and what should (and should not) be accepted from NGOs as genuine help. The process is of a fundamental shift in self-perception, seeing oneself as a person with assets, and as one who is able, rather than in a perpetual state of lack.

I visited three regions of Kenya, each part of the national economy and culture but each also with its own particular history, ecology, culture and politics.[660]

i. Western Region

Western Region is Kenya's smallest province. Located approximately sixty kilometres north of Lake Victoria, Western shares a border with Uganda, and is home to some of the last remaining virgin rainforest in the sub-Sahara, along with lush greenery, and plentiful water in most parts. However, on the first drive we took together, Oscar Ekesa, Area Program Officer for Mountain area of Western Region ADS (WRADS), referred to the roadside appearance of abundance as a "green canopy," beneath which people struggle in poverty to grow food on depleted soils for elusive markets. Though sugarcane flourishes here as a cash crop, much of Western Region subsists as a "company store," for sugar companies that pay farmers minimally for the intensive use of their land.

As in most provinces, many rural villages are remote, located away from main roads and

[660] Since the completion of this field research, the "regions" and "provinces" have undergone a re-organization and are no longer official divisions of the country, which is now divided into counties as part of the 2010 Constitution's devolution goals; though people still recognize the regional titles that I use.

regional centers and without access to much infrastructure, and so are correspondingly inaccessible or unaccessed. Children attend school erratically if at all and medical centres are far, as are central markets. In both remote and less remote areas, shrinking availability of land, due to inheritance traditions that have divided many farms into parcels too small to subsist on, and booms in population and unemployment leave many families living on what can be earned through casual labor and in the sugarcane fields. Exacerbating issues of land use, income, and proximity is the problem of HIV/AIDS and the ongoing economic and emotional fallout of the deaths that occurred during the virus's peak.

Much of WRADS's work thus involves teaching alternative farming practices, so that farmers can become self-sufficient, achieving high output of high nutrition-value crops, without being subject to the prices and manipulations of seed and fertilizer companies. They also teach organic, high-yield "kitchen garden" techniques, so that, even without a farm, families can grow food with which to feed themselves. This approach is intended to have a multi-pronged effect, with, e.g., children eating healthier food that costs less, and the money saved used to invest in small animals, education, and the like. The initial establishment of WRADS was stimulated in large measure by technical and financial aid from CRWRC/World Renew.

ii. Mount Kenya East

Contrasting the small area covered by WRADS, ADS Mount Kenya East (ADSMKE) covers thirty-three percent of Kenya's total land mass. As such, ADSMKE contains a huge variety of ecosystems, tribal cultures, trades, product sectors, professions and means of survival. This size and diversity leads to a broad range of issues addressed by aid here, both development and relief. An example of the complex diversity of this area is seen by comparing Mwea and Isiolo, two small communities within the ADSMKE boundaries.

Mwea (aka Wan'guru) is a tribally diverse town, in the midst of a region largely dominated by Kiambu and Mbeere, who coexist peacefully. Mwea itself is a unique kernel in the otherwise not extraordinarily diverse local area. In the 1950s and sixties its inhabitants were brought there by the British as prisoners of war and slaves during the Mau Mau uprising.[661] After independence the government bureau that took charge treated resident farmers as indentured labour. In the 1990s rice farming peasants rebelled, demanding independent use and ownership of

[661] Elkins, Caroline. Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005. p.326

the land.[662] Today Mwea is a centre of rice production in Kenya, and the surrounding fertile area also produces a number of other cash crops: pineapples, bananas, tea and coffee, as well as miraa.[663] Mwea is also the site of one of the earliest ADSMKE headquarters.

By comparison, Isiolo is in a northern region that is extremely dry, with white sand rather than soil, and thorny acacia in place of crops and greenery. The population is strongly Muslim (Mwea is mostly Christian), and several pastoralist tribes fight over land and resources here, including water and animals. Villages are often raided and inhabitants displaced, resulting in semi-permanent residence in IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) camps, with some people having lived in such camps for over half a decade. The direct colonial hand was light, here, with people left largely to fend for themselves. This light touch is evident in a lack of infrastructure: public schools, clinics, irrigation, and roads (besides the main North-South highway, which exists mostly for the convenience of the army and NGOs, and is not well maintained) are mostly unavailable, and so proximity and access remain remote, as does opportunity. Compounding the infrastructural modesty, many communities here are small, and live well away from the identifiable roadways that do exist. This makes them accessible *by* goods and services only with some difficulty. Resource scarcity and remoteness exacerbate problems of child nutrition and HIV/AIDS, and given the particular aggregate of obstacles in this area many people rely regularly on food relief to survive perpetual crisis. ADSMKE currently seeks to respond in this area through the promotion of water pans by which animals and agriculture can be sustained, and through periodic mobile VCT and mother-child health clinics.

iii. Mount Kenya

The region of ADS Mount Kenya is again unique, with rural substations located relatively near the capital city, Nairobi, in Central Province. The tribal composition here is mostly Kikuyu, and the ecosystem of the area is the temperate climate of the highlands, with regular rains and good growing soil for tea, coffee, maize and other staples. Much of Mount Kenya region's population relies on their land for subsistence and for income. Thus here there is a strong emphasis on alternative farming methods for greater yield, cheaper inputs, and environmental preservation and

[662] Kabutha, Charity, and Clifford Mutero. “From Government to Farmer-Managed Smallholder Rice Schemes: The Unresolved Case of the Mwea Irrigation Scheme.” In Sally, H. and C.L. Abernethy (Eds.). Private Irrigation in sub-Saharan Africa. Colombo, Sri Lanka: International Water Management Institute, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and ACP-EU Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation, 2002. 127-138. pp.192-3, 202

[663] Miraa (khat) is a legal stimulant plant, chewed for similar purposes and properties as the coca leaf, in Bolivia. It is also a major export to, e.g., neighbouring Ethiopia, where it is known as "chat."

restoration, as these soils (like in Western) are often very depleted and degraded through intensive cropping, mismanagement of forests and waterways, and the toll taken by repeated chemical fertilization. As elsewhere, much of the alternative methods and technology leads farmers to a return to indigenous crops, and to the low environmental impact methods of traditional agriculture.

Two development programs are particularly emphasized in this area: Mount Kenya region had the highest rate of HIV/AIDS in Kenya during the height of the virus in the 1980s and nineties. At one point the infection rate was thirty five percent. As a result, communities have been depleted and there is a generation and resource gap to be filled by the elderly, the too young, and the too few remaining in the middle. Thus, in addition to farming Mount Kenya emphasizes training and counselling in interpersonal skills as a coping measure for women who need to be able to educate their children about sexuality and safety and who need to be able to assert their rights within their relationships, but for whom neither of these are traditionally learned skills. The other major emphasis is on business training and money management since, out of all of the regions, Mount Kenya's access to and accessibility by large markets is a unique advantage.

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ADS is World Renew's major partner in Kenya, though World Renew also partners with several other local NGOs. The concluding chapter discusses in more detail what the ramifications of this partnership are for both groups, and that discussion relies significantly on the analysis of this chapter. At this point I will iterate, simply, that World Renew supplies ADS with a good portion of what it needs to conduct the types of projects described here, at least in the locations I visited. World Renew provides funding that usually comes in three-year terms with possibility of renewal, as well as technical expertise and advice for ADS staff and for community groups. Like ADS, World Renew is uniquely attentive to the partners and programs it supports. It is available for consultation, and prioritizes close relationships with the partners it chooses, visiting sub-stations and projects several times a year. World Renew has been one of ADS's earliest and longest term partners, beginning with WRADS in 1984, but only branching out to other regions slowly. In areas where they are partnered, World Renew has been influential on the fundamental praxis of ADS, but at the same time ADS has been a particularly suitable partner for World Renew's strategic priorities.

As Christian organizations, ADS and World Renew are considered (and consider

themselves) especially accountable, that is, to God, and therefore more responsible and reliable than other NGOs. At the same time (and especially in comparison to many organizations who have come to various communities and begun projects that have failed for various reasons), ADS has over time proven through its work that it is consistent, reliable, and trustworthy. This difference is often attributed to the Christian basis of the organization compared with other, non-religious organizations. In chapter two, part two, on Kenya's political economy, I describe the macro history of aid – faith-based NGOs and secular ones, private and bilateral – in Kenya. On the local socio-economic front these atmospheric shifts and vagaries manifest as tides of hope and disappointment, summed up by my interlocutors in the experience of being "cheated," a term that references feelings of betrayal in connection to various corrupt and inappropriate behaviors from NGOs or their representatives. These experiences and feelings are a major factor for the role that Christianity – and ADS as a Christian organization – plays in development praxis in these Kenyan contexts.

Benard Yaite, an extension officer in business education in ADS's Western Region, explained how the church's established physical structures and presence give ADS a leg up when it comes to promoting and implementing its programs. Church infrastructure, consisting of a network of people, buildings, associations, knowledge, and expertise, enables ADS to access even the most remote communities. With the free use of church buildings for meetings, and with local churches encouraging the continuation and thus sustainability of ADS projects, Western Region ADS has to date been able to reach almost sixty thousand households in Western Province, on a very small budget.

By contrast, Yaite continued, the impact of secular organizations (especially on a budget-to-budget comparison) has been minimal because they need a lot of funds to initiate and sustain any projects, which funds they do not usually get, at least not for long enough. Secular organizations have to forge their own entry points by introducing themselves and their ideas "cold," so to speak, and then have to somehow establish trust. The church, on the other hand, is an existent entry point which community members already know and respect, a status which mitigates the normal difficulty that development enterprises have with getting communities to buy into projects and ideas. Because the church is local, known, and respected, people trust ADS and therefore will do what is required to "take it to another level."

This tactical advantage is tied into the church's longevity within the communities where it

has worked since before independence. Its reputation and status incline people to trust ADS and its established presence equips the organization with a level of local expertise that is more intimate, nuanced, and refined than generic development expertise. ADS's type of local knowledge means that their projects are more likely to be feasibly planned and thus more likely to be successful. ADS's alignment with existing knowledge and networks reinforces their trustworthiness; and the success of their projects augments that trust. Working successfully through and on the basis of local knowledge and relationships, further, distinguishes them from organizations that come in with a top down approach and which have over time built a legacy of dependency and disillusionment in many communities.

George Mwima and Penninah Amutsa,[664] also of WRADS, explain that:

> *George*: The church is a very strong entry point for us, for services. Because in the past NGOs have in fact really abused the community. They have lied to the community. They come with ideas and in the end of the day they are out to steal from the community. So people had reached a point they were now not trusting NGOs. But now they identify with the ACK because of that.
> *Penninah*: Like, there's this example, Orphans and Vulnerable Children [OVC]. Many NGOs have come on the ground to do data collection. They would register many many orphans and vulnerable children and then disappear. So, when we used to come, actually it was hard. It took time for the community to understand us. Especially OVC programs. They would tell us, 'many people have come here, they have taken our kids, and then they have done 'A-B-C-D' and they are now earning [i.e. using the data to collect funding, which did not get passed on to the villagers for projects]. We don't want yours also to do so.' And it would take more time to educate them. And then after educating, we do the data, and then we start implementing. [...]
> *George*: ...with the CCS [ADS], they're very confident. So that good image of the church, it's a very strong tool for us.

The ACK, says one staff member, who chose confidentiality, "is basic – just like the foundation of these areas" and so association with the church provides ADS with "cover, or comfort." Part of this comfort with the ACK derives, in addition to its longevity and dependability, from knowledge of its non-partisan political position. The ACK is well-known among middle-aged and elderly Kenyans to have stood up to political powers that have the capacity to build or destroy parts of the country and that have historically chosen to do so based on tribal alignments. ADS benefits from the ACK's reputation as not aligned with any political party and as not identified with any particular tribe or region. The sources of the ACK's reputation as an opponent of

[664] Area Program Officer and Community Facilitator, respectively, for Sugarbelt/Mumias area of WRADS.

government misdeed and advocate for governance that benefits the average Kenyan citizen are outlined in chapter five of this dissertation. This history of the ACK also benefits ADS's endeavors and its efforts at inclusive, ecumenical progress.

Linked with this intrinsic and comparative trustworthiness, is a trustworthiness that derives from the fact that ADS is a local organization. Not only does it emerge from the ACK, but leadership and staff are Kenyan and reside in the area that they work. ADS's understanding of the vital importance of local knowledge and commitment is evidenced by its structures and programming. Prioritizing trust during the course of project life is crucial to realistic planning and likely completion, as well as to long-term benefits and the sustainability of development work. The following sections show how this has been a historical and contextual lesson for ADS, and examine the significance of Christianity for its development praxis and effectiveness.

II. Thick Expectations

To begin, as described, the ACK, from which ADS comes, is one of Kenya's oldest churches. It has an overall positive history in Kenya, on both national and local levels. Equally significantly for ADS is the widespread geography of physical infrastructure that marks the Anglican Church's detailed incursions throughout the latticework of villages demarcating the Kenyan landscape. These structures signify a permanence and intention of permanence, as well as a location for ADS to work. Besides a budgetary boon, the established presence of the ACK gives ADS the advantage of reputation by association and the sense that it is not an arrival to but an arising from within the communities where it works. This local advantage and initial impression is significant because it opposes the provenance and behaviors of organizations – national and foreign, government and non-government – with which communities have had negative experiences.

The ACK-ADS relationship is positive for both organizations. Both have well-established roots and connections within the local communities where they work as well as nationally and internationally, in both the "upward" direction (on the official, authoritative level) and the "downward" (the community level).[665] Thus both organizations are valuable assets for community members and for one another, since acquaintance with both or either provides potential access to a great range of various types of resources.

For ADS, the ACK offers access to physical infrastructure and to reputation with

[665] These directional metaphors are the same as used in the "top-down" / "bottom-up" imagery of development strategy; there is no space here for a discussion of the possibly questionable valuations involved.

communities, and therefore access to community members themselves. These access points create the (possibility of) economic advantage for ADS, since they are enabled to make more efficient and effective use of their limited resources. For local Anglican churches, ADS offers congregants and communities opportunities for increased prosperity (leading to a more prosperous church economy), and offers the church itself an increase of good reputation. There is a positive feedback loop between ADS and ACK, as the social value and reputation of each is increased by the access and actuation of these things by the other. In addition, however, ADS must still respond to negative community experiences of Christian groups and NGOs. ADS's attachment to the ACK creates expectations of different behaviors than the usual.

Expectations and advantages of Christian association are part of ADS's formal self-description and also to be found embedded in staff descriptions of expectations for their personal behavior as employees and associates of ADS. Implicit in these are expectations that ADS – or any truly Christian organization – should be different from its NGO predecessors. Peter Mudy, executive director of WRADS provided a standard ADS statement of Christian principles in development as "what Jesus would say, love your neighbour as you love yourself, that kind of thing. Promotion of peace, justice, and conservation... . Team-spirit, teamwork... we work with others – the government, other NGOs, other faith-based organizations. [...] Then, we must also express honesty, transparency, and accountability in what we are doing... ." Sheila, an administrative assistant at WRADS, described Christian development values as "teamwork" and "togetherness"; and as "interacting with communities as Christians... by empowering them." This articulation of principles for Christian action, as well as a sort of nebulous set of "Christian values," were presented by ADS leadership as the organization's articulation of the Christian approach to development practice. A number of ADS employees attributed their vision of ADS's difference to a conviction born of their faith. Christian accountability to God and church was described as a "biblical perspective" and "biblical objective": "the Jesus mission to the world"[666]; as service delivered "in a Christian perspective," as a "demonstration of the love of Christ"[667]; as the connection of development work to the biblical mandate of stewardship, or caring for creation.[668] The Christian environment of WRADS helps Audrey Were to feel assured in her work, and secure in the sense that she is "actually contributing to changing the world." From the

[666] Paul Wangechi (ADSMK – Staff)
[667] Kennedy Gichira (ADSMK – Staff)
[668] Benard Yaite (WRADS – Staff)

work day's beginning with staff devotions and prayer, "you feel there's a sense of belonging, you feel like there's someone watching over you – I mean God – and you just have to do things, and do them right." Immaculate Imboba (WRADS Human Resources officer) described Christian accountability as going beyond minimum requirements of effort and relationships. She voiced her view of this in terms of comparison with her time in a secular organization, where "people could just stick to their terms of reference responsibilities, and that's it: you come in the morning, you do your work, and you go home. You're not bothering about the welfare of others, that's none of your business."

Other informal articulations drew on personal senses and experiences of what it means to enact Christianity in the field of development aid. For example, many staff described a sense of a higher accountability, to God and to principles beyond the utilitarian pragmatism and legalism that can characterize development work. These staff examples parallel those given by community members, comparing Christian with secular NGOs. Audrey Were and Patrick Kibe[669] described accountability in terms of examples wherein Christian faith would prevent corrupt behavior, because of a sense of having been entrusted with the welfare and fair treatment of others. "As a program officer," said Audrey,

> I'm trusted with resources, in terms of money, in terms of assets, even just knowledge. And I'm expected to use them to benefit the communities we are working with. Definitely Christian virtues and values guide me. Because you know, when I'm entrusted with such, I'm supposed to make sure they reach the people they're intended to actually reach, or, [that] the people who will tend to benefit from that actually are the right, rightful people, you know? Like, I have blankets that I need to give to the OVCs [Orphans and Vulnerable Children] – you know, it's easy for someone, maybe, who's not Christian, or who's not brought up in this way, who doesn't have principles to guide [them] – it's so easy for that person to divert [funds or goods]. You can think, 'Let me carry home these blankets,' 'Let me take this mattress, so that I don't [have to] buy [it].' But because we are guided by the Christian values... it doesn't augur well with you if you do that.

Similarly, Patrick stated that "Christian faith makes you accountable not only to the community, but also to God himself," and illustrated this statement by describing his time working in a secular organization, where accountants embezzled so much money that the project failed. He has not encountered such behavior in Christian organizations, and in his view this is because people in Christian organizations know their priorities and are dedicated and accountable.

[669] Staff members, WRADS and ADSMKE, respectively.

For a Value Chain Officer employed at WRADS, Christian accountability means resisting potential dependency-based expectations of community members, expectations that have been established by other NGOs and which are often encouraged or disregarded by donors:

> The organization, because of being Christian and the way it operates, it has more credibility on the ground. Like people would want to associate with us, because they know, this is a Christian organization... they [think we] are so transparent, [and] so accountable and also, we open up to them. Although sometimes it poses a challenge because they... think, [that] we'll bring things. But, we take them through a process to understand... we are here to show you how to get, rather than give you one time, and then you are not able to get any other in the future.

In other words, accountability in large part means teaching sustainable development, which includes educating people on why sustainability is a better model (for instance that it decreases susceptibility to unsustainable offers in the future). This education is integral to ADS's approach to sustainability.

For Patrick Nderitu, Christian accountability in the field includes the responsibility to make actual change, and not just focus on pleasing a donor:

> ...Mount Kenya [ADS], we are just, basically, the Anglican Church, [and as such] you have, let me say, the spirit of God inside. So that, as much as I want to impress the donor, there's a voice inside, telling me that, 'You have to go beyond impressing the donor. You have to do something that you are sure [is] going to help this community, in the long-term.' [...] Because, at the end of the day you don't want to feel like you cheated anyone. I would rather struggle and risk the donor going away, rather than cheat.

In sum, the differences that Christianity makes for these development organization staff in their daily work take the overall form of a sense of accountability beyond the requirements of the work itself. It is not enough to accomplish the minimum goals, one must do what one knows is best and will actually make positive change, rather than replicate ineffective, albeit likely acceptable, practices. There is a responsibility to resist overt as well as these more subtle types of corruption, even though corruption is normal and could easily go undetected.

i. Local Experiences of Christian Organizations

In contradistinction from many local Christian organizations, past as well as present, ADS is not concerned with proselytizing or preaching, and it is politically non-partisan, expressing only concern for the rights of citizens and the elimination of corruption in government. ADS focuses on emphasizing practical means for getting out of poverty (or, living better with the means that one has) and is concerned above all with practical outcomes. Nonetheless, as a Christian NGO in

Kenya, ADS has to cope with local knowledge about Christian churches, about denominational divides, and about FBNGOs. This knowledge, coming from past experiences, tells communities that Christian groups tend to want conversion in exchange for help, that denominational organizations sometimes choose to serve only their own, and that, further, denomination tends to be tied to politics and therefore also to ethnicity, and vice versa (to ethnicity and therefore politics). These historically-based expectations of Christian organizations, in addition to local histories with NGOs (covered in the next section), can make people reluctant to engage with ADS. These same fears, however, when ADS's inclusivist and non-partisan approach to development is realized, cement ADS's valued and appreciated presence in a community.

One local experience-based challenge for the preconceived reputation of ADS among those not familiar with the ACK's political work are instances when church denominations have given preferential treatment to their own members, for example in the distribution of relief. An ADS intern who chose to remain confidential, and Anne Ebei, a local schoolteacher in the chronically food and water-insecure North-Eastern area of Isiolo, also perpetually unsettled by tribal clashes over livestock, related an instance when the local Anglican Church provided relief aid to every Anglican person in the community, but to no one else. Speaking to me at a mobile VCT clinic, she recalled when "the ACK Church, [of a local village], they brought some food… but it is not [for] all of them. They just pick some few names, you see? Can you imagine, such food, they just pick some few names. Like, if I'm a member of ACK, I have to get the food. If I don't – if I'm not a member of ACK, then who am I to get the food?" Though this was not done with the knowledge or cooperation of ADS, it is still part of the local knowledge about denominational favoritism with which ADS has to cope.

Several other respondents also mentioned organizations that vetted participation on grounds of religious affiliation (or, at least, were perceived to do so). Tabitha Waweru[670] gave the example of a Catholic development service that only served Catholics, or distributed double the amount of aid resources to Catholic community members as it did to non-Catholics, even when working in collaboration with ADS. People complained to her about it and so she went and spoke with the workers of that organization, who changed their local tactics (though, it was implied, the exclusivist mandate may have remained intact at the upper levels). Similarly, a respondent during the Iria Itune dairy goat CBO meeting (Mount Kenya East) explained that he was happy to be

[670] Station Coordinator, ADSMKE Embu/Macumo

working with ADS[671] because they don't tell Catholics to be separate from Protestants, and don't exclude one or the other group.[672]

The exclusivity of other groups also gives rise to the fear and possibility that non-Anglicans, or non-Christians, might reject ADS. An example came from Patrick Kibe of ADS Mount Kenya East at Isiolo. When he first started he felt a bit trepidatious because Isiolo has a high Muslim population and "you might expect that if you say you're from a Christian organization maybe they might start to stone you... but they are very welcoming... because ADS makes clear it does not discriminate, it's there to do this work."[673]

As Kibe suggested about the Muslims in Isiolo, others too stated that non-Anglicans sometimes fear that Anglicans are out to convert them,[674] or to "pull people to Anglican [*sic*]" from their chosen denomination:

> ...but we have experienced situations whereby even when you are calling yourself 'Christian' Community Services, you'll find that, because we are affiliated to [the] Anglican Church, there are certain people from other denominations who think that you're coming to win them, to come to [the] Anglican church. So they somehow resist. But once they realize that we're not coming to pull people into Anglican[ism], they start supporting us.[675]

Misperceptions also arise from within the Anglican, or broadly Christian, ranks. In Western Region, Audrey Were related the "notion that the Anglicans believe that the projects are meant for them" because ADS is Anglican, and described the kinds of tensions that such a mistaken perception can create:

> We put up a greenhouse in Muhaia, and it is the community members themselves who decided [where to build it]. So they appointed one member, who was a non-Anglican, to have it in her homestead. After a few days they came up with issues; they don't want that greenhouse there, that person is not an Anglican, this greenhouse should have gone to an Anglican. It ...made us realize that maybe the concept was not clear from the word go, or maybe they have a different notion of the benefits, in terms of who gets the benefits in the community. [...] As an entry point to our activities apart from the local administration, we also go through our churches. But, it doesn't really narrow down our activities to only Anglicans. […] It doesn't mean that. So, they may actually get wrong, a wrong connotation of that.

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[671] And World Renew; the dairy goat-water pan projects, "Water for Goats," in this area are supported by World Renew in cooperation with ADS.
[672] Wilson [no last name given], Iria Itune, Wang'uru ADS, 13 July 2012.
[673] Patrick Kibe, Isiolo sub-station, ADSMKE, 24 July 2012. I couldn't tell if the comment about stoning was tongue in cheek or a real fear on this person's part.
[674] Off the record, WRADS.
[675] Peter Macharia (ADSMK Thika – Staff).

But, otherwise there hasn't been much issues, just this one incident.

These types of misapprehensions of the scope and intent of ADS's beneficiary body seem to arise out of previous experiences with NGOs and churches working in the areas. However, there is also another era of divisive church history in Kenya's story, with recent tragic consequences, the collective memory of which is still fresh.

In chapter five I described the political history of the ACK under colonialism, through independence, and then under Moi. I did not include, however, the ways that Christianity was as a whole in Kenya "co-opted," to use Paul Gifford's term, by the tribalist, cronyist political campaigns of Moi, Kibaki, and their rivals. Christian politicking was done by church and political leaders alike, the former to show their political loyalty (and thereby garner political favor) and the latter to uphold a public image of faithfulness and divine blessedness for their political positions and aspirations.

Bishop Kitonga of the Redeemed Gospel Church preached frequent fiery sermons in support of President Moi and denouncing his opponents, including radical (or anti-government) clergy. In return, Moi would deliver speeches during Redeemed Gospel services, and contribute large sums of money to church *harambees*, as would all members of his entourage.[676] Similarly, Moi spoke and donated to the African Inland Church and at Pentecostal crusades, and was praised by visiting pastors for his good will and leadership. "Support for Moi," writes Gifford,

> was forthcoming from a wide sector of churches. Independent churches, lacking the resources of mainstream churches, were particularly prone to manipulation. In the crucial years of the multiparty agitation, the Africa Church of the Holy Spirit held a special service in Nairobi to pray for the government. During the service, over 1,200 followers registered as KANU [Kenya African National Union] members, and the leader, Bishop Kisanya, registered as a KANU life member. The church resolved to support KANU and President Moi.[677]

Simultaneously, Moi and his supporters denounced the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), which opposed him (as described in chapter five). Thus ethnic rifts made their way into national churches, through the tribalist rhetoric of various leaders.

This pattern continued under the leadership of Mwai Kibaki, who likewise "burnish[ed] his image as a Christian statesman" by visiting churches and donating cash or land to them. Kibaki and his circle supported the Nairobi Pentecostal Church, the African Brotherhood Church,

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[676] Gifford, 201-202
[677] Ibid., 204

Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Anglican churches. His opponents favored the Africa Inland Church, but also overlapped him in currying the favor of Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops of various regions.[678]

Regarding the 2007-08 post-election violence, Jacqueline Klopp writes that "partisan politics" of religious organizations like the Emo Foundation,[679] the Africa Inland Church (perceived as pro-Kalenjin, i.e. pro-Moi), the NCCK (perceived as pro-Kikuyu/Kibaki) and the Roman Catholic church (also perceived as pro-Kikuyu/Kibaki) "seriously weakened" pre-2007-08 religious efforts against violence. It also undermined the sense of any church as non-partisan, interested in the good of the nation as a whole and not bent by tribalisms and politicking. The degradation of the neutrality and safety of the churches "was reinforced in the public's eyes by the 'exodus' of clergy into politics" during the 2007-08 elections.[680]

Klopp further observes that "in rural areas, there are few associational forms that generate interethnic trust and hence can 'constrain the polarizing strategies of political elites' that very often generate ethnicized violence."[681] Though the trust in cooperation generated by ADS is interdenominational rather than interethnic, given the history of the politicization and ethnicization of denominations by church leaders it is plausible to suggest that the interdenominationalism is a *de facto* interethnicity. This focus on inclusivity by ADS as well as by the ACK has been a reparative practice within the Anglican denomination and its parishes.[682]

The 2007-08 post-election violence (PEV), as well as previous episodes of PEV, deeply affected all Kenyans, not just those living in the immediate vicinity of the violence. Likewise,

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[678] Ibid., 206

[679] "...an interdenominational Christian organization that also aims at promoting 'Kalenjin' unity. The Emo Foundation includes prominent members of the Kalenjin community including members of parliament, some of whom may have supported and organized the displacement of Gikuyu and other 'settlers' in the Rift Valley." Klopp, Jacqueline. "The NCCK and the Struggle against 'Ethnic Clashes' in Kenya" in Ben Knighton (ed.) Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in Honor of a Meddlesome Priest. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 183-199. p.189

[680] Ibid., 190-191. Klopp adds that the "weakening" she mentions was "signaled in the most horrific way imaginable" by the burnings of several churches (Assemblies of God and Roman Catholic – both Moi-affiliated) during the 2008 post-election violence. p.190

[681] Ibid., 192.

[682] Another way that churches were implicated in post-election violence and political-tribal alliances was through language. Churches (I am not here referring specifically to ACK) would display tribal allegiance by giving services in the language of a particular local tribe, thereby excluding people who didn't understand that language, that is, excluding people of other tribes. In this way a church would become tribally homogeneous, and open to guest appearances by politicians who would fan inter-tribal political insecurities and rivalries. I learned this information from a young man involved in peace programming in Nyanza. One of the peace-making suggestions that his organization would promote was that churches preach in Swahili, thereby being more inclusionary and eliminating openings for tribalist politicians.

most Kenyans, despite the media's portrayal of riled up mobs of partisan supporters (most of whom are jobless youth, bribed to attend a rally, and who may well be subsequently bribed to attend the rally of that same speaker's opponent), are keenly troubled by the workings of politics in their country, on both a moral and economic level. This regards local, regional, and national politics, as well as the all-too-common political machinations that occur in churches and other organizations. There is a sense of shame and frustration with what seems like the inevitable way of things, and the horrors of the 2007-08 PEV amplified this. Community members are vigilant against the potential division of CBOs along tribal-political-religious lines, and against even the suggestion of the possibility, and so ADS's inclusivism is, again, a welcome practice to which Kenyans are well-attuned.

Several people referred to ADS's non-denominationalism as reflecting the value of inclusivity. ADS's inclusive development practice also explicitly cultivates the inclusion of previously marginalized persons. Godfrey Owiri, a farmer in Western Region, was particularly adamant on this point. Godfrey is HIV-positive and, with the help of ADS's work to de-stigmatize HIV and teach people and communities how to live with it, he was revived from a very poor physical and emotional state (which had also put him into bad economic shape), and now practices ADS-taught agricultural techniques, with his wife, on a flourishing farm. He is a dedicated member of his CBO, and employed gender-inclusive, rights-positive language consistently for our entire conversation. Regarding the question of religion, Godfrey emphasized that ADS is concerned with human rights and not with one's faith affiliation, an emphasis reflecting his view of development as characterized primarily by "not discriminating," by inclusion, and "being participatory."

Aside from ADS's own positive valuation of inclusivity and the mandate to help all who are in need, is sheer practicality on the part of community members and staff. What matters is results. ADS is explicitly disinterested in influencing anyone's faith life. This is clear in the explanation by Patrick Nyaga, Station Coordinator and Animal Health extension officer for Mayori sub-station of ADSMKE, who said, "the strength of the CCS is the church. The church in the sense that... the set up, the structure, is the Anglican structure. But when it comes to implementation of the activities, it's nondiscriminatory in terms of religion. [...] We don't tell people, 'we want Anglicans.' What we want is a community that is united, that is geared towards achieving a certain objective." To Nyaga's explanation, Kennedy Gichira, Regional Development

Coordinator at Mount Kenya ADS, added that "...our understanding is that if it is issues of poverty, they do not need religion [as in, conversion to Anglicanism or Christianity]. [...] ...our call is to ensure that we just share the love of Christ with these people, regardless of religion." As with my Christian Reformed respondents in chapter four, while there may be an idea of incidental evangelism, of sharing the love of Christ, conversion is outside of ADS's purview. What concerns participants, both staff and groups, is whether the work that they do will... work.

Community members engage with a mix of organizations – local, national, and international, of varying religiosities and secularity – in order to achieve desired ends. As one staff member who asked to be cited confidentially explained, "if an NGO approaches a community, mostly what [community members] are interested in is what are you bringing us, what development are you bringing us, what do you want us to work together on? I don't think they have an attitude, if it's a Muslim bringing, it's a Christian bringing." As I demonstrate in this chapter, the specific, thick Christianity of ADS – its particular Christian context, Christian history, structure, and affiliations – does make a discernible difference in formation and the outcomes of its development praxis in rural Kenya. However, it is clear that, if its programs failed, the Christianity alone of ADS would not be enough to attract community members. On the surface, then, or as a thin, universal designation, ADS's Christianity is neither a positive nor negative signifier of its practical capacity as an NGO.

ii. "Cheating": Untrustworthy NGO Behavior

The development-historical context in which ADS must prove itself includes the particularities of a community's experience(s) with local and foreign NGOs, which are often linked with government agencies.[683] Some communities have had little contact with NGOs, and ADS is the first they have worked with. Others have had some contact and been disappointed, while still others have engaged with relief organizations but not with development agencies, for example the inhabitants of *de facto* villages created through long-term internal displacement by the state. And then there are those who have had enough experience with NGOs and outside donors to have developed a savvy dependency culture, or to have become embittered and reluctant to engage.

[683] While this may seem counter to the title "non-governmental organizations," John R. Campbell clarifies that in East Africa, "a distinction between 'the state' and NGOs obscure[s] key overlaps. For example, a nation-state may create and fund NGOs, and NGOs often recruit government personnel and rely on government funding." Campbell, John R. "International Development and Bilateral Aid to Kenya in the 1990s." *Journal of Anthropological Research*. Vol.64, No. 2, Summer 2008, 249-267. p.249
ADS is clearly not a state-created NGO, however it does cooperate with and use the services of government extension officers in some instances, such as seed distribution to farmers, as well as veterinary services.

Descriptions of deceptive behavior by purported NGOs were plentiful, as were stories of disappointment by legitimate organizations that did not live up to promises. Group members referred to these disappointments and deceptions, in their various forms, as "cheating."

Peter Macharia of ADSMK, described Thika area's history with counterfeit, "briefcase," NGOs, which are omnipresent in poor regions of Kenya:

> ...there's quite a number of NGOs who have come to the field where we have been. They have collected information from the people, particularly... households which are multi-generational households. They collect information from the head of the house, the children she or he is taking care of, they even take their pictures. Then... that person goes away with that information, maybe to fundraise. And then he or she never comes back to that area again. We have quite a lot of briefcase NGOs.

A confidential informant at a sub-station of ADSMKE, confirmed that what Peter describes in Thika is also an occurrence in the areas where she works, and has created barriers that ADS has had to overcome:

> ...when doing the surveys, it's becoming a bit hard. Especially for people who the community does not know. Because it has been like that. People come to do some baseline surveys; after that they leave. So the community they are not quite sure where you took the information that you extracted from them. And they assume that you've gone to benefit yourself with that information. So... if you come from top [with a top-down approach] the community will be a bit reluctant to fully work with you. You have to work with them. You have to start with the community, so that at least the community will have confidence in you. Because most of the time, like now... there's a time [when] Sweden something [*sic*], they were digging a lot of boreholes. And those boreholes, because they were not involved with the community, they're no longer in use. So, they came with their briefcase, they dug the boreholes. After that, the community, they just saw the machines [(pumps)] there. Nobody to maintain. Nobody who knows how to make it at least to be sustainable. So, when they left the machine is no longer working.

Besides duplicitous persons posing as NGOs, there is the widespread issue of the fungibility of donated funds. In an extreme example, Patrick Kibe described an instance he witnessed personally, of NGO accountants embezzling funds donated to projects. In one case fifteen million Kenyan shillings (about 187,500CAD) was stolen, causing the donors to have to scrap the program.

"Cheating" can occur as briefcase NGOs or embezzlement, but it also comes in the form of neglect, especially by "outside" organizations, be they national government or international donors. This type of cheating usually happens at a distance, and is characterized by the breach in

knowledge that exists between people who "sit in town" or "in offices" or "in Nairobi" – all phrases used to describe development bureaucrats – rather than working in the field and having an engaged understanding of the micro-workings of projects.[684] Perhaps it is less a "cheat" than a negligence or disinterest, but for the people who a project is supposed to benefit, the loss is the same, as is the sense of betrayal.

Kibe put the long-distance, top-down issue succinctly when he stated, "Relying on people or authorities who are far away leads to unrealistic development [planning]. Information and authority should come from within a community." He explained further that when projects are initiated or supervised from outside of the community, corruption tends to intervene, so that the work, funds, or other resources don't make it to the community itself, and the project doesn't happen.

The "unrealistic" nature of doing development from a distance was usually discussed in one of three main forms: rose-colored glasses about corruption; poor or total lack of identification of local needs and more especially assets and current ways of doing things; and third, the prioritization of ideal forms, or theory, over actual local contours, which results in a great deal of frustration for field officers, community facilitators, and group members.

The rose-colored glasses of distance development do not see or understand the actual forms that corruption takes. While at times corruption manifests as outright skimming and obvious cronyism, it also takes less plain forms, for example wasting time and funds on reinventing projects and planning at top levels, rather than working with organizations already in place on the ground. George Mwima and CBO Community Facilitator, Irene (who left before I could get her full name), describe one such case:

> *George*: ...you give government money, that money will start reaching the community after five years. The process is very long. Takes a lot for the government to reach the people. ...the funds that are channeled through the government, they don't reach the community. [...] It will remain suspended somewhere, hanging [...].
> *Irene*: And usually there are so many meetings involved. And you know, when they meet, there's lunch, and there's transport. So at the end of the day if it was twenty million [shillings], maybe the money that will reach the ground will be like eight million.
> *George*: Much of the government money is spent on the logistics, so very little

[684] E.g. Bishop Oketch of Kakamega ACK, re. the need to go to the field to get a real picture of development: "Because some of the people who talk about development just sit in town; they sit in offices and they don't go to the field."

> will reach the community. But if we engage the CBO, the NGOs that are trusted, the effects [of government inefficiencies] always negate.

"Cheating" also takes the form of ill-advised and poorly planned projects, that profit ministries or contractors, but not communities. Watiti Ali (who goes by Ali), chairman of Kholera Kick Hunger CBO,[685] along with Penninah Amutsa and George Mwima, described a project that was implemented by an international NGO and that failed because of a lack of community involvement:

> *Penninah*: And you know projects that are owned by the ministries, or other government players, the community doesn't participate [in them]. […] And they don't last.
> *George*: …for example, this Finland thing [KEFINCO] collapse.
> *Penninah*: They just came and started digging, without involving the community. So, they [the community] will spoil [the project], and say, 'This is a KEFINCO project!'[686] [i.e. will not feel ownership]
> *George*: It was a project [funded] by the government of Finland, to dig boreholes for water wells, and then fix a pump on it so you can pump water. Instead of our people going to the spring and fetching water in the open. So there is a borehole. […] But what lacked – it was run by the people from the ministry up there, the community was not involved. So when the funding period ended, when KEFINCO withdrew, everything collapsed.
> *Penninah*: They were stealing the pumps... .
> *Ali*: There's a stream of water here, and they dig here a borehole [next to it]. Who will be paying here, and leaving the stream [of free water]? [...]
> *George*: The sustainability was based on [the idea] that – the community could be chipping in very little money, as low as – by then it was 5 shillings. But they're saying, 'Why are you selling me water when there's free water right here?'

Patrick Nderitu, ADS Mount Kenya's health services extension worker, was charged with escorting me for most of my three weeks in Thika area, and was an invaluable source of insights. Patrick related many personal stories and experiences that revealed some of the rewards and struggles of development work and the kinds of complex challenges that community members might face or bring with them to projects as baggage. One scenario he shared was a lack of understanding by donors who rely on certain formulas of project planning, implementation, and reporting. While perhaps statistically and fiscally convenient for the donor, formulaic approaches do not often mesh with or contain sufficient flexibility for the realities of project scheduling and

[685] In Sugarbelt area of WRADS.
[686] Kefinco Water Project in Western Kenya – Story #11872 – GlobalGiving.org <https://www.globalgiving.org/stories/11872/kefinco-kenya-finland-cooperation-came-up-with-a-very-g/> [Accessed 19 November 2013]

implementation on the ground – or, rather, the multiple, particular, shifting, grounds which donors tend to manage through a singular map of paperwork. "As an organization," said Patrick,

> we use the Participatory Rural Appraisal approach, where we go to the community, and they give us their needs and they prioritize the needs. And then we try to work on that. But it gets tricky, because you need resources to go to the community, and the donor will need to see a full proposal before you go to the community. And in most situations we have done PRAs when we already have been given money by the donor to go to the community. And you do a PRA and only a few of the things that you have proposed in the proposal are priority needs in that community. For example the project that I have just told you about, we had money [and then] we did a PRA, [and] we didn't have money for HIV intervention, but [we found out that] that's a priority need for that community. So we had, now, because we have already [presented] the issues to the current donor, we can't now go back in turn, they would not even understand that. So we are forced, now, to start looking for more resources from other partners to fill this gap.

Ernest Akeko of WRADS, a project employee whose contract had ended shortly before we met and who had therefore begun working on a volunteer basis with the hope that another contract would arise, described similar frustrations:

> ...when the project is coming to an end... sometimes it ends while the community, or you yourself... you are not prepared. Or, now it is when that project has caught fire, it wants to move, but you find now the period has ended, there is no financial support, and when there is no financial aspect, you find now that they start moving slowly. You know when the program starts it starts with a low [*sic*] pace, because the community wants to know specifically what is it, they want to know it clearly. But now when they understand, [and] they start moving, you find that the period is ending. [...] And now you, a person who has been implementing, you find you're stuck again. Because you can't move minus financial; you can't do certain other things. [...] The community starts calling you for you to do more follow-ups... but I can't make it to reach to the community, because I don't have a [budget] for it. So you find that when it ends, it makes the community stuck.

A further symptom of the disconnect between local and distance project authority is found in disparities of accountability that undermine sustainable approaches and long term visions. Such disparity is experienced as a betrayal primarily by field staff, who see damage being done but feel powerless to stop it since there will always be community members willing to accept short-term and short-sighted development solutions. Patrick Nderitu describes what it is like to have to stand by and allow other organizations to introduce projects with no accountability for their long-term outcomes:

> You know, a lot of this work, there's pressure for results. And sometimes you can easily get cheated into doing something short term that will impress the people

> who gave money, but not bother about what will happen after you leave. [...] For example, I can specifically talk about this new project that is starting here. We tried to engage the organization that has been given money by the EU… and tell them, 'Please, this is not the way to go.' But they don't want a lot of hard work. [...] So the challenge has been that... there is a disconnect between the EU member in Brussels, and the person implementing on the ground. There is very limited monitoring. Because I'm very sure this information from Nairobi to [the] EU is changed, so that it is made to look very sustainable. But on the ground, I can tell you, it's not.

In the same conversation, he continued:

> I have attended some of the meetings [where this kind of donor] has been, and I have never had a more traumatising moment. Because a person will just sit there, and say, 'This is what can work, and if you're not ready to pick this, we have left some other communities that we can always take the resources to.' What do you do? You are left – you have no choice... but to say, 'Yes sir, this is a very good document, we will make sure we give you results.' Now, this is the kind of thing that is happening: community groups that have not even the slightest interest in those activities are being forced to take them. For example... there is the fisheries, the goat-keeping, the bee-keeping... different items, all of them well-funded. They [the outside donors] are sitting down and asking, 'Give us one hundred community groups,' and then they will decide, 'These ones we are going to give them goats, these ones we are going to give them bees, these ones we are going to give... .' And what will happen, the community members [CBO and SHG members] finally will receive them because they have been... intimidated to accept the projects. But they will not necessarily implement them. How much money will be wasted there, that would have been used [properly]? So those are the pains that you see on the ground, happening.

These various examples of "cheating" show the importance of personal, principled accountability for project success and longevity. While putative monitoring and evaluation processes are in place for most projects, these strategies are easily manipulated or falsified. Accountability to a donor and its spreadsheets is not necessarily sufficient accountability for strong project outcomes. Further, to whom is the donor accountable if not the participant community? This question should draw us to the critical importance of local knowledge and local commitment. Prioritizing trust during the course of project life is crucial to realistic planning and likely completion, as well as long-term benefits and sustainability, and the possibility of building on accomplishments rather than endlessly repeating them. One way this can be accomplished is by working through the established socio-religious structures and relationships of local ACKs.

One confidential informant employed by ADS described the difficulties of entering a situation where a community has been abused and made suspicious, and the needed advantage

provided ADS by association with the church:

> …in the program we are working on, the use of the church for mobilization was good, because in this community in Mbeere, as I was talking to them they were telling me, 'Now, they are telling us now to dig a water pan and bring a goat. Is that really true? Because some people have come here promising things, then they go.' So, there was that fear. But now with the use of the pastor, so, they saw this thing is coming through a church. So that was a strong point. Especially the people we met today in Karambeere. At first they were wondering, 'Is this true? You promise us a goat, then it doesn't come. Maybe you should just tell us to work on our water pans, and benefit on water.'

This type of experience was described by people all over the districts I visited.

For example, in the arid East and North Central areas of ADSMKE, World Renew and ADS partner on a number of installments of World Renew's "Water for Goats" program. These programs train and direct groups in digging a water pan at an accessible location with good catchment. The pans take advantage of the hard ground and flash floods that often combine to leave a place as dry after the rains as before. As strategically-placed rain water reservoirs, the pans provide reliable water, and save the community time on fetching water every day. In return for completing the water pan (or, reaching a certain size, since digging is an ongoing project, recommenced each time the pan is emptied), World Renew provides the community with dairy goats, including insemination, de-worming, scheduled veterinary check-ups, and training on dairy goat husbandry and business.

I spoke with three separate Water for Goats groups, all of which were quite sizeable (between thirty and fifty members in attendance), and all of which described having to overcome serious skepticism before they could commit to participating in the project (a very time and labor intensive addition to their already full schedules of time and labor intensive activities).

In Iria Itune[687] the mood was optimistic, with not just ADS but a number of other organizations [APHIAplus, Global Fund, Care International, and government agriculture and livestock ministries] listed as being in the area and visiting the groups, for whom the projects were going well. At the same time, it was easy to access memories of unsuccessful efforts. In some cases, leaders of CBOs had misappropriated group funds; others spoke of microcredit schemes that didn't deliver the money. In Makutano,[688] group member Mary Njeri James described "microcredit" organizations that just give out high-interest loans; and donors that say

[687] ADSMKE; Mbeere; 13 July 2012 – three inoculation sites, with World Renew staff.
[688] ADSMKE; Mbeere South; same day and activities as Iria Itune, above.

they will match funds that a group saves, but then just disappear with the savings. Others simply spoke of having been "cheated." When asked what made them decide to go ahead and try with Water for Goats despite these histories, the reply was that first, the church was seen as a fundamentally trustworthy institution; and second, because World Renew and ADS were themselves demonstrating commitment – establishing trust – by making consistent visits even prior to the actual beginning of the dig.

The Bondoni Water for Goats group had similar concerns as the Mbeere groups: that they might dig the pan and never see the goats. Their first reason for deciding to go ahead with the water pan overlaps with the Iria Itune/Makutano reasoning: that ADS was coming to check on them, before and after they'd agreed. They secondly rationalized that, whether they ever saw the goats or not, harvest water was still useful enough to them for the process to be worth it (especially with access to professional help). By the time I spoke with the group, they had already harvested a lot of water from the pan, had received the goats (along with feed and vaccinations), and were making plans for what else they could do together as a group with the resources they'd so far accumulated in this way.

For Makima Water for Goats, ADS was the first NGO to come through on any arrangement so far proposed to the people in this group. Group members described multiple broken promises and incomplete projects for which people collected information and made preliminary arrangements but then absconded with the financing or resources and, as far as these people knew, simply "stayed quiet with it" (kept it, and disappeared) somewhere else in Kenya. In fact, though, the community has no idea what happened, because no one else returned to check on the project or do any sort of follow up to ensure that it had been completed and resources appropriately used.

For the Makima group these memories make common delays or hitches that throw projects off timing an extra stressful and disruptive event, that puts their trust on edge. Two conversations with field staff in other areas also raised this issue regarding outside donors, echoing worries voiced by several CBOs in Mount Kenya East areas. Delays in resource supply throw off project timing (e.g. for the bulk of labour to be timed for agricultural off seasons) and cause group members to wonder if this is the beginning of yet another inconclusive end. When Makima Water for Goats experienced delays with the arrival of the goats, they became very nervous that maybe this was a repeat story. Other people in the community were even laughing at

them for their gullibility, until the goats came and their decision to trust was rewarded. Again, for these people, it was the consistent presence and encouragement of ADS staff (and, for ADS, the reliability of World Renew) that gave them the confidence to carry through with the project. For this group, as with others, a relationship of trust and reliability was crucial for emergence into a new phase of life.

Patrick Nderitu confirmed these experiences, and the subsequent importance of a consistent local face, when he said, "You know, what they [community members] see is me; they don't know Nema [World Renew representative on the current HIV/AIDS collaboration], they don't know [World Renew]. But they know who are working with them, and they're so appreciative. [...] When we came [to Kairi in ADS Mount Kenya] there was not even a single person with HIV who would come out to speak. Right now we have sixty."

Peter Macharia, too, confirms this process of relationship establishment, saying, "We live with the people where they are, for the time we have been given [in the project description]; and then by the time we are leaving there we create a big impact on the ground." In this way,

> People know that when you're telling them, 'We are going to move this direction,' they understand that we are not cheating them. [...] when we are going to a certain project area, and we collect information, we tell people that, 'We are going to be with you for this amount of time, or this is our time frame.' And then, if you honor that, then people will have a lot of confidence in you.

The development praxis espoused and enacted by ADS is meaningful for the communities where they work in part because of the many ways that ADS contrasts negative experiences and conceptions of Christianity and NGOs. This reliability, accountability, and trustworthiness – thin values that would benefit the work of any NGO or other type of organization – achieve "thick" value when proved in ways that are of particular import for the people with whom ADS works. The next section examines further specific ways that ADS creates and achieves, or meets, standards of behavior for itself as well as for its community group partners, that exceed taken for granted norms and set it apart both in its Christianity and its development praxis.

III. "Fetching Water": Traditions, Habits, and Norms as Contextual Factors

The following discussion examines practices considered "traditional" or cultural in contexts where ADS works. Practices considered "tradition" vary to an extent by region, but there is considerable overlap and the general issues that I describe are quite consistent across the board. I use tradition and related terms to describe practices that are pervasive or widespread, that are

more or less accepted as normal even if disliked, that often have roots that are unknown to the people who do them, and that may or may not "make sense"[689] but nonetheless exert a force on behavior that most people find difficult to resist. Such practices may be referred to as culture, habits, or norms, as well as tradition.

Practices identified by informants under the rubric of tradition and culture tend to include practices that come from the past (as per Shils' definition of tradition[690]), and those that are pervasive (or perceived as such). For instance, wife inheritance is described as "tradition" by Kenyans, as are fetching water and small-scale corruption. Other similarly categorized practices were called "culture" or "kienyeji" (haphazard; stop-gap; lit. "coming from within"). Dependency on relief aid, for instance, was described as a "culture"; and not maintaining business records, or not planning ahead in farming, as "kienyeji."

By and large, colloquial talk about tradition was far less in reference to, e.g., religious rituals or practices conscientiously preserved and venerated, and far more in reference to practices that were "found" to be there when one arrived (was born, or entered ritual adulthood). When educated young adults complain about how tradition cripples things in Kenya, they are less often referring to things preserved on purpose because of their value to certain communities (such as female circumcision, for a well-used example of this), than to almost the opposite: things preserved as well as by accident; practices passed on and on because of the strength of the repetition itself and by, as will be discussed, a risk-averse conservatism toward the way things are (and, therefore, were).

The traditions I describe here can also be described as social norms. They are behavioral shortcuts that became established over time because they lead to generally desired ends without the need to calculate the process each time. Regarding this, Partha Dasgupta writes, "if you are steeped in social norms of behavior and understand community obligations, you do not calculate every five minutes how you should behave. You follow the norms. This saves on costs all around." Following norms is, he continues, "the natural thing for you to do if you have internalized the norms. But this is sustainable so long as the background environment remains approximately constant. It will not be sustainable if the social environment changes suddenly and

[689] I.e. when evaluated according to standard Western economic logics: pragmatism, utilitarianism, etc.; most such practices can generally be made sense of when analyzed as phenomena in and of themselves.

[690] Shils, Edward. Tradition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

trust is broken."[691] The "background environment" includes needs, desires, risks, and reasonable expectations. Social norms consist of and revolve around these. When the bases for these norms and these desires, risks, and reasons disappear – for example though environmental degradation, industrialization of agriculture, decreasing viability of traditional land use, or unemployment – norms often remain in use, but become hollow and sometimes harmful. In view of tradition and culture as norms, then, traditional values or traditional practices are also economic and political, in other words, they are historical and as such renegotiable.

ADS programs engage with local traditions to a significant degree in the sense that a large part of what ADS does is try to stop negative practices – habits, cultures, or traditions that are debilitating, damaging, or that otherwise inhibit human flourishing – and to cultivate existing positive possibilities. The traditions/norms that I discuss here are both significant facets of ADS's working context and are directly addressed by its programming. They also illustrate some of the behavioral and strategic requirements of ADS as a Christian NGO in Kenya that seeks to do development in a transformative, sustainable, and accountable way.

i. Maize and Farming

Certain agricultural and food practices have come to be valued in Kenya as "traditional" in the sense of a cultural value, a "glue," (and so, somewhat by proxy, have the practice/s of growing these traditional foodstuffs). An example of foodstuffs vocally praised as "traditional" comes from Western Province, where a meal without maize (especially *ugali*, maize flour that has been cooked with water into a heavy, pasty loaf) hardly qualifies as a meal, especially for men.

Maize is crucial to the Kenyan diet, not just in Western Province but throughout the non-pastoralist parts of the country. In spite of its status as a staple (by 1999 Kenya was listed sixth highest in the world for percentage consumption of maize[692]), maize is a "New World" crop that is easily damaged and rendered unmarketable by common vagaries in Kenyan weather. Aside from doing best with expensive inputs, a good maize crop requires mostly dry weather but then also rain in the flowering stage. If that sequence fails the farmer gets nothing. And while one might imagine that high demand plus difficulty of supply would bode well for the income of farmers that manage the task, in fact Kenya is a net importer of maize, a practice which undercuts

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[691] Dasgupta, Partha. "Environmental and Resource Economics in the World of the Poor." Lecture delivered on the 45th Anniversary of *Resources for the Future*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1997. p.13

[692] "...and in East Africa as a whole, maize account[ed] for 30% of all calories...".
McCann, James. "Maize and Grace: History, Corn, and Africa's New Landscapes, 1500-1999." *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*. Vol.43, No.2, April 2001, 246-272. p.247

the incomes of local farmers. As a counter measure to maize, then, ADS encourages farmers to intercrop or alternate drought resistant indigenous crops like sorghum, cassava (also actually a New World crop, despite inclusion in the list of indigenous species to promote), and finger millets.[693]

In "Maize and Grace" James McCann describes the sixteenth century arrival of maize on Kenya's east coast, in the company of Portuguese settlers at Mombasa. By the mid-nineteenth century it had come to be established as far inland as Uganda (which country borders Western and Nyanza Provinces, the centers of maize production and consumption in Kenya).[694] It was not until the late twentieth century that maize became "a monocropped grain staple" in Kenya and other African countries, replacing the traditional "complex cropping system that relied on intercropping, rotation, and swidden management of fertility" for successful farming in Africa's harsh microclimates. It was at this point that maize began to negatively affect African diets and transform the farming system. According to McCann, maize's "growth as a major food source [in Africa] has paralleled the continent's economic and nutritional crises."[695] He summarizes the agricultural and nutritional effects of the crop as follows:

> As a grain, maize yields more food per unit of land and labor than any other. Yet, to those in Africa and in the non-industrial world, seduced by maize's obvious virtues, corn has also revealed a darker side. It is highly sensitive to deprivation of water, sunlight, and nitrogen; it rots easily in tropical storage. Even a few days of drought at the time of tasseling can ruin a crop. Thus, maize monocultures are extremely vulnerable to environmental shocks, especially drought. It may also impoverish the bodies of those who depend to heavily on it for food, resulting in diseases such as pellagra and kwashiorkor. The end result is that when they plant maize, commercial farmers and peasant families (especially women – African maize is largely a woman's crop) walk a slender tightrope of risk. Still, its cultivation continues to spread from rain forest plots to cocoa farms, and from remote villages to urban vacant lots. Moreover, Africa is distinctive among world regions in that 95% of its maize is consumed by humans, rather than used as livestock feed.[696]

The conviction that maize is a traditional staple not only desired but *necessary* for a complete diet is strong. This belief is most vociferously declared in Western and Nyanza Provinces, but also in

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[693] George Mwima, at a CBO demo plot, 25 May 2012. Farmers are also encouraged to grow beans, for their soil-enriching properties, even though these, like kale, were "brought by missionaries" – likely the Catholic Portuguese.
[694] McCann, 254
[695] Ibid., 256, 257
[696] Ibid., 249

any part of the country where agriculture is a default practice, that is, most any rural area. Audrey Were of WRADS explained how the cultural value of maize prevents farmers from introducing crop diversification, that could help them avoid annual "hungry months":

> There are certain months when people don't have anything to eat, and in Western Kenya people believe in maize. Maize farming. Maize, they grind the maize to make flour, then – you know the *ugali* we eat? People in Western Kenya believe without that they don't have food. They don't think they can have other commodities apart from maize that can help them have food to eat. They consider other things as too light, not food, not for food. So, we are trying to change that mindset and show them they can be involved in horticultural production that can enable them to be food secure.

In environments where maize rarely, if ever, grows well people grow maize because their grandparents grew maize. They grow maize because maize is what is grown. At Bamba, in Coast Province, people say, "There's no funeral for maize." In other words, it was explained to me, since they do it for themselves, rather than to sell, they count it as no cost: "It's an occupation, like brushing your teeth, or reading the paper." One plants maize, period; and maybe it will maybe it won't produce this year.[697] In the areas where ADS works, then, one of its primary tasks is to convince people to try ways and goals of farming that are more feasible and more profitable than the habitual cultivation of maize.

Paralleling this attitude about maize is the fact that people often farm not because they "are farmers," or even really know how to farm as such, but because it's "tradition" – it's what has always been done when one has a piece of land. One government agricultural extension officer compared it to responding "Mzuri [good]" to "Habari yako [how are you]?" – "even if you're feeling sick." It's the expected response. In his view, this same sort of reflexive response to having land is what drives people to farm, even when they don't know how to do it well.[698]

In the case of food and farming there seems little if any evidence that "tradition" as utilized here refers to the conscientious valuation of a practice as something to be purposively preserved over time. Though maize may have become an important part of food-based fellowship since its introduction to the country, it does not therefore follow that it needs to be grown by anyone who eats it. (Few people craft their own margarine or bread, catch their own fish, or harvest their own tea and milk, either – because it doesn't make sense for them to, even though these foods are also staples in the same areas as maize.) Changing the mindset on farming from

[697] Conversation with Davis Omanyo, of World Renew, and Pwani ADS water engineer, at Bamba, 28August2012.
[698] Anon / off the record; August 2012, drive from Mitunguu to Nkoju.

"farming as tradition" to "farming as a business" (one of the slogans postered on the various ADS office walls) is a key aspect of ADS's work in rural communities they target, as a way of improving the material asset – land – that these people have to work with.

ii. Wealth & Authority

In chapter five I describe the traditional correlation of wealth and authority in colonial and pre-colonial Kikuyu society (in Central Kenya) wherein to have a voice, or to be heard, a person (that is, a man) must own property. The discussion looked at Derek Peterson's and John Lonsdale's work tracing how affiliation with Christian mission stations in the early colonial period was used by the poor and by propertyless youth to circumvent this socio-economic limitation.[699]

Patrick Nderitu, a field officer for Mount Kenya ADS, described why in his view World Renew[700] stands out from among other NGOs. In his description he indirectly commented on the continued presence of the wealth-authority association:

> I just gave you an example of the EU [European Union] funded project. You don't have an opinion.[701] You live in a community, you work with the community but you don't have an opinion. Yet [with World Renew funded projects], people will come and tell you, 'Now, it is one year. What can we change?' [...] You can see that they really respect you. Enough to say, 'Come. And show us how you do it.' You are standing before people who earn probably 200% more, 300% more than you do; who travel to the US and the UK, and to other places; but they are telling you, 'Stand there, you are the expert. Tell us how you do it.' ... you see a lot of... godliness with those people, and you feel a lot of motivation.

The comparison Nderitu makes between the EU and World Renew is between an organization that wields its funding role to claim and enact superior authority over local experts; and an organization that, despite its role as funder and advisor, acknowledges the value of local knowledge and works to leverage and support that as an asset. The prior enacts a "cheating" behavior that undermines ADS's sustainable development efforts. The latter is a style of leadership that World Renew seeks to transfer to ADS and which, in turn, ADS employs among community groups. Thus Nderitu's description also reflects the type of experience that ADS tries to cultivate for the groups and people it supports, an experience that links authority with knowledge and experience rather than with money or prestige, and that recognizes local assets. Kennedy Gichira confirmed the existence of an ongoing link between authority and economic

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[699] Lonsdale, John. "Kikuyu Christianities." *Journal of Religion in Africa*. Vol.29, No.2., 1999, 206-229.

[700] A North American Protestant Christian NGO and a major partner for ADS, World Renew is the Canadian NGO whose practices and support base comprise the other part of this dissertation and my material for comparison.

[701] As far as the EU project representatives are concerned.

power. He noted how this association can undermine the self-confidence of the poor, leading to a situation wherein local decisions are made by outside actors because the poor don't feel equipped to choose for themselves. This decision-making process further reduces their self-confidence and makes them vulnerable to corrupt authorities. The process of empowerment in poor communities must therefore include a decoupling of authority from wealth and property.

Gichira's observations underscore field officer Julius Mun'gora's perspective on empowerment as learning to demand with confidence that to which one has a right by law. "Empowerment," he explained,

> is about helping the community to realize that they have the power to mobilize the government to bring services to there. Like, for example, ...they used to fear government offices. They did not want to face the District Agriculture Office to inquire for services that they don't receive. Like now the government [has] seeds for farmers to grow. The farmers do not know where to get the seeds; sometimes they grow seeds that ...are not of very good quality; they grow seeds from the previous harvest. When the government [has] seeds and seedlings in their offices, waiting for farmers to come over to get them. So we empower the community to realize that the seeds that are with the government [are theirs by right]. ...they should not pay [bribes] to be offered services by the government. They should not even request for those services. They should demand. Because it is their right. That is empowerment. [...] Don't request. Demand. If you want a tractor to come and make the road passable ...so that you are able to transport your [produce]... Demand! ...that is all about empowerment. Empowering the community to realize their rights. Helping the community to realize their rights; and not request for their rights. To demand for their rights!

Empowerment, for Mun'gora, is a process of educating communities about their civil rights. Like the active recognition of local authority by World Renew, this is a matter of identifying and leveraging existent local assets and breaking the connection between poverty and lack – of confidence and of authority regarding one's own life.

The normative wealth-authority connection in Kenyan social life is a thread that draws together several of the traditions covered in this chapter. Corruption, for example, as bribery and cronyism, feeds on the insecurity that those of little means have in the face of putative authority, even when they know that that authority is in the wrong. Gender issues, too, are reified and exacerbated by entrenched acceptance of the idea that the one who controls the property is properly in control. The wealth-authority correlation also gives control to foreign donors coming in with large amounts of money to spend and give away. Rather than question the motives and wisdom of these organizations and their plans, local NGOs and community members tend to

default to the assumption that these outsiders must know what they are doing, or else not feel in a position to challenge them. This leads to negative experiences of NGOs and infinite series of failed projects, and contributes to and perpetuates dependency on these organizations and their free handouts.

ADS describes itself as seeking to change mindsets and not just practices, a goal that signifies deep comprehension of social forces at work in ongoing poverty. Undoing, or "unteaching," lessons of disempowerment tied to poverty is a major facet of involvement with this NGO.

iii. Corruption

Another negative practice that is significant in the Kenyan context is corruption, sometimes referred to as "a kind of a culture." I include it in this list because of this type of description but also because it is a pervasive practice, recognized by all Kenyans, and that chronically impedes development progress.

As discussed in chapter two, corruption affects the Kenyan economy and society on a massive scale. While corruption at all levels of government is an accepted fact, most people are not often eye witness to instances of high level corruption. On a near daily basis, however, regular citizens experience *kitu kidogo* ("a little something," i.e. a bribe), the ubiquitous form of everyday corruption that lubricates daily life, keeping traffic tickets off the books, public transportation on the roads, and the police off one's back so that one can make a living without being hobbled by the steep official fees attached to running a business in Kenya's paralytic bureaucracy. (Of course *kitu kidogo* also leads to more numerous and specious tickets and arrests, more dangerous transportation, and less well-regulated public services.)

Stories of corruption abound, certain types of which I related earlier in this chapter. A number of other examples arose during discussions of empowerment programs run by ADS. George Mwima and Irene described how WRADS teaches communities to defend themselves against corruption in local governance, such as expenditure claims for ghost projects, or crony contractors who do shoddy work in order to create a future need for their return. Groups learn to:

> [George]: …question leaders that have told us they've spent this amount of money on this project, 'Can we now come for it.' […] Before, they would lie to us, 'We have built schools,' but in fact they have built [Irene: two, or even one.] – 'We have built two bridges,' but none has been constructed. Or they have used simply wood, instead of concrete. So those are the issues now the community's working on, and now we have better services.

> *Irene*: [*laughing*] Best example is in this area, there was a contractor who was given to do a [water] well in this area. Do you know what he did? He brought half-baked bricks. And he worked on it during [the] rainy season. And because of the training we had given these people, they went and monitored, and they said, 'We cannot stomach this kind of work, you will have to redo it.' And he did!
> *George*: If there were not these groups, nothing will have taken place.

George and Irene also repeated a ubiquitous scenario in which government agricultural extension officers:

> [Irene]: work on a policy called 'demand driven.' You have to go there [to their offices], to ask for them to come and advise you. [...]
> *George*: And possibly chip in, in terms of [Irene: fuel] for the car. If you want an agricultural extension officer to come, you have to go and fuel his vehicle. If you don't, he'll just sit in the office.[702]

In other words, extension officers expect community members to bribe them to do the work that the government is already paying them to do. Patrick Nderitu asserts that "corruption... has almost gone to a level of not a practice, now, it is a culture," giving as an example his experience acquiring medical examination documents from his university. A classmate of his wanted the same papers but didn't want to wait, and so he paid half the fee, but directly into the pocket of the receptionist. "And so," Patrick continued, "all those people that had given the lady money, they were done their chest x-rays first. Those who [had not bribed her] were forced to wait. And they waited for – I was there by ten, and I would be getting served at three PM, because she had created a backlog of those who had seen her by the side first. [...] So corruption is big; corruption is still big – grassroot [*sic*] corruption."

Instances of corruption on the everyday level might also occur in ways that sometimes are not even recognizable at first, but are characterized by misuse of resources and abuse of place, power, or privilege for financial or other personal gain. Though not "tradition" in the sense of a respected or long-term social practice, corruption is a "norm," albeit a negative one, and a pervasive part of the context in which ADS works.

iv. Gender-based Segregation and Inequality

Gendered segregation and inequality are prevalent in rural Kenya, especially in the domestic sphere. Gender-based inequality is a well-documented obstruction to economic development, and ADS therefore seeks to counteract its perpetuation as well as its evident effects. There are two

[702] NB. George and Irene are comparing the current situation with the pre-World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Program era of the 1980s and after, when, they said, government services used to be good or at least better.

basic kinds of gendered divisions. First, practices that are gender segregated because of "tradition" or "culture,"[703] which segregation tends to parallel and reinforce gendered disparities of wealth and property and therefore of authority or "voice". Second, gender inequality as male privilege and domination, especially with regard to the division and rewards of household labor, which includes farming and casual labor for cash. This overlaps significantly with traditionally gendered activities or roles, but the former does not necessarily include entitlement or intimidation by men. Male privilege was also identified in the political realm, in the organization of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and self-help groups, and regarding the actual (vs. reported) distribution of project workloads.

Each of the three fieldwork regions has its own particular manifestations of gender-based segregation and inequality. In Mount Kenya region the issue was by and large framed as, quite simply, the lesser rights of women, especially in the domestic sphere of homestead and marriage. (Tellingly, in Kikuyu, the local language of Central Province, "mutumia," a word for "wife," translates as "one who is silent."[704]) In the south-central cultures covered by the wide geographical purview of ADS Mount Kenya East, certain agricultural practices are considered more appropriate for women than for men. At a meeting of dairy goat CBO members an observer from World Renew remarked that he was surprised to see so few men interested in the goats, since goats are a money-making project. A field officer from the area commented that this was due to traditional gender divisions, with dairy goats still seen as the province of women.[705] Similarly, at a meeting of the Munyaka ("Good Luck") Women [*sic*] Group for microfinance Jen Wambui and Joyce Njoki, both of whom had purchased a cow through the group's financing, told me that "here" it is not culturally acceptable for women to buy a cow, but that they were

[703] Gender-related traditions and norms vary between regions and tribes, of which variance some is described here.

[704] I learned this while overhearing an anecdote told to a group of men in a public vehicle. A man loaded a sack of maize into the vehicle and as we drove away Patrick Nderitu translated what this man was saying to the rest of the men in the truck. He bragged that his wife had begged him not to take the maize, and so he slapped her and took it anyway. The maize was a huge part of the harvest for which she, like most of the women of that area, had done all of the work. It was what she was going to sell, in order to feed their family and buy seed for the next season. But he took it, and was going into town to get the money and drink it away, "kama jana" (like yesterday). The men in the truck (besides Patrick) were laughing at this story. Women in this type of situation, Patrick later explained, have little recourse, and social constraints prevent them from retaliating. They are blamed for domestic issues, and would be ostracized for retaliation, or forced to keep living with the husband. The traditional role of the wife, here, is to care for the home and farm, and be an ever available source of offspring. This is the situation not just in rural Kikuyu communities but also often among the urban poor (many of whom migrate to the city from "up country" and so take those practices with them).

[705] ADSMKE, Wang'uru sub-station, Iria Itune Dairy Goat CBO, Iria Itune, Mbeere; World Renew-associated project, 13July2012.

nonetheless doing it. They had discussed it with their husbands, who appreciated the extra income this generated (and evidently did not feel particularly bound by culture, a permissiveness which sheds light on its status as a norm more than a rule).[706]

In the more northern areas of ADSMKE, where the tribes are nomadic-pastoralist Turkana, Burana, and Rendille, traditional gender divides take a different form. A confidential interviewee at Mayori sub-station explained how "culture" can present a challenge in the sense that:

> [In] some cultures... the women don't share the same value with men. Some cultures, especially in Turkana. Before, when women... – let's say that you have a seminar, men will be [on] this other side, they will be at one position; then women will be at another position. ...and it's their culture. So... that one is a challenge. Because unless you know that these people, they don't usually mix, you may [find yourself] in a very difficult situation. Because you are there, [saying,] 'come together, we want to speak to you!' But their culture judicates [*sic*] that it does not mix.

In addition to addressing immediate material challenges, then, ADS has had to find ways to, first, circumvent and then slowly alter these customary divisions. Further complications with traditional divisions are bound up with the new realities of nomadic pastoralism, realities that in recent years have changed significantly, while gender norms remained.

Traditionally men would leave home for weeks or even months at a time, leaving women to care for the homestead (children, house, agricultural and other labor). Now pastoralist wandering is diminished, restricted by land privatization and resource-based violence, but even though ways of life and income are changing, women are still largely expected to maintain everything at home. However, continued my interviewee, things have begun to change:

> Before, when they were walking in town, the man is ahead, and the woman is behind. He is there, the wife is behind. But [now] you can see them walking together, as a couple. A husband and a wife. ...now you can see them, in the clinics, ...they're also even bringing children for weighing. But before you couldn't – that one was totally for women. Culture was that was for children and women.

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[706] Embu, 17July2012.
This is also the area where two small-scale farm practices with strong business possibilities, bee-keeping and rabbit-rearing, were for some time culturally categorized as "boys" work, i.e. practices that male children would do, and only prior to passing (ritually) into manhood. For many young men, the demographic with highest unemployment, this association places such activities well outside of the possibility that they might provide a means of income. For young women, too, the longevity and pervasiveness of gender and age roles would also leave such gendered opportunities at a distant remove from ordinary consideration. So there has had to be a rethinking of tradition and its usefulness in certain areas. These are attitudes that ADS is trying to adjust.

In Western Kenya, for many women the situation seems even more bleak. Women here are normally devalued in comparison to men, in large part because traditional inheritance practices have excluded them from owning land. Thus they are by custom financially insecure and dependent, having no collateral with which to demand a voice. Though this process is slowly changing, with widows, for example, beginning to inherit familial lands from their husbands, women are still often not considered equals and are treated as property.[707] Women are thus generally poorer than men, and can easily become destitute if their husband dies before them.[708]

For some tribes in this region, this issue has been met through the practice of "wife inheritance," in which a brother or relative of the deceased husband marries the widow. Wife inheritance (or widow inheritance) "is a focal practice of ritual regeneration within what has become known as 'Luo tradition,' and... traditionalists regard it as being central to family as well as community survival."[709] This remarriage ritually "cleanses" the community of the husband's death while simultaneously, if the new marriage goes well, providing the widow with financial and domestic security, while the new husband inherits the land. If the marriage goes poorly, the widow finds herself ritually disinherited. Widows have historically had no traditional recourse to try to inherit land, nor to protect themselves from predation.[710]

Also in Western, it is normal for men to leave their families and villages in order to seek employment in larger centers, especially Nairobi. This practice began already at the beginning of the twentieth century with the onset of an urban labor market under British colonialism.[711] One of the results is a large number of families where the woman stays at the rural home, looking after the farm and children, while the husband works far away and sends money home. Such practices underscore the disparity of economic power between men and women, and the categorization of women with property – she doesn't inherit the land that she cares for, she is part and parcel with it.

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[707] Benard Yaite, WRADS.

[708] See references to these things in interviews with: Yatima Mungano OVC group, Busia, WRADS, 24May2012; Florence Onkundi, Mumias, Western Province, 23May2012; Watiti Ali, CBO chairman, WRADS.

[709] Prince, Ruth. "Christian Salvation and Luo Tradition: Arguments of Faith in a Time of Death in Western Kenya" in F. Becker and W. Geissler (eds.) AIDS and Religious Practice in Africa. Leiden: Brill, 2009, 49-88. p.50. See this article, too, for a full explanation of the mechanics of the ritual.

[710] Wife inheritance is steadily diminishing, however, in large part due to awareness campaigns about the spread of HIV/AIDS and the risks of this in wife inheritance. Prince also attributes the decrease to an upsurge of Christianity in the area, the adoption of which provides women with an alternative set of standards to traditional expectations, and legitimate grounds on which to enact these alternatives.

[711] McCann, 255

A confidential interviewee who worked with groups digging water pans, described gender issues that she had encountered on sites where funding relies on representative percentages of gender among participants:

> I've noticed mostly it's women who are coming to these water pans, it's women who are going to do those casual works [(casual day labor)], [and it's the same] women who will go back to the farms.[712] [...] There's a time I was looking at the group when we were coming from the field, and I was just asking, because I'm finding out that mostly I'm working with the women, 'Where are the men all day?' And there's a man who just told me, 'We can just go to a shopping center and just stay there.' And you come back late in the evening. Just stay there and have stories with the rest of the men.' [...] Of course there are a few men helping the women; but the larger percentage it's more women. [...] ...from the proposal it's to include men and women, but when you are selecting the beneficiaries, they can just come and give you the name of the man. But afterwards, the ladies only will be coming to work. If you check our beneficiaries list, it's a combination of men, women, youth. But when I'm working in the field I find ...almost all of them are women. Where are the men? They're at home.

This example highlights not just the tenacity of gender norms but also the importance of local insight for truly successful funding initiatives.

ADS responds to gender issues both directly and indirectly, and this response is bound to their overall approach to development. While they do try to sensitize men to the benefits of equal partnership, and to equip women and men for constructive conversations through their Stepping Stones program, much of the work of adjusting gender roles comes through helping women become economically empowered, while also teaching them their rights.

One way that women's empowerment is cultivated is through the establishment, where necessary and desired, of female-only or female-led self-help groups and CBOs.[713] Women-only groups, or groups with female leadership, provide space for women to go through transformative processes in an environment where they feel safe to speak freely, and where they can be sure that their priorities are shared. A number of women, when describing the appeal of their group, did so in therapeutic terms, explaining that the weekly meetings had become a source of morale, encouraging and sustaining them in the intervening days.

A women-only Village Savings and Loans group near Kairi decided to keep men out

[712] To do more work. Farming in these communities is all done by hand, as is the digging of water pans, and as is casual labor (which is usually farming or making charcoal).

[713] ADS works only with formally established groups, rather than with individuals. The groups I met ranged from three up to eighty members.

because most of the women are widows, because as women they feel they can relate to each other better than to men, and because they tend to meet at times when men are at their jobs. With laughter, it also emerged that they "don't trust them"; that there are some men who "are good," but others are not trustworthy. Men drink and smoke, agreed the group, but women don't. The all-female Munyaka Women microfinance group, in Embu, similarly explained that they came together to build each other up, and to work together to escape the "way of life" of "borrowing from" their husbands. They chose to have a women-only group because "men keep it [money] here [their breast pockets], so they didn't contribute [i.e. because pocket money is spending money]; but women contribute" – a somewhat ironic state of affairs, considering that these same men also control women's finances.

At Gacage Self Help Group (mixed gender) in Macumo, in a discussion of what sorts of things need improvement in Kenyan governance, the chairwoman stated, to cheers and repetition, that women should have key positions in government: "Because it's women who are many, and if they're many they should be there. Even if they look at [the] local community, it's mostly them [women] involved in development issues, while the men sit around waiting to eat the money [i.e. unfairly benefit from it]." Embedded in this vote for gender-representative government is a clear discontent with the social privilege of men, as in this case reflected in male-dominated governance at state, regional, and local levels. The enthusiastic support this message received in a mixed gender group reveals an openness to this and recognition of its veracity by both men and women.

Armed with knowledge, confidence, and the ability to assert themselves without risking financial insolvency, women are increasingly able to resist traditional gender roles. ADS assists in this by helping mitigate risk and by supporting women as they work to overcome other, combined contextual obstacles, such as the correlation of authority with property or money, and the cordoning off of community leadership and certain income-generating activities as "for men."

Political theorist and ethicist Martha Nussbaum crafts in great detail evidence for the argument that gender-based disparities have negative economic effects for not just women, but entire families and communities. Describing shifts in women's rights and economic freedoms in India, she shows that every incremental change to the better contributes to changed perspectives among men as well, as they learn that it is also to their own benefit to challenge gender

hierarchy.[714] This is also true in Kenya, and so ADS's response to gender disparity is linked and overlapping with other aspects of development, while also conscientiously targeting these negative norms.

v. Gender and Alcohol Abuse

Another gender issue found throughout poor communities in Kenya, urban and rural, is that of alcohol abuse. Alcohol abuse is linked to the decline in actual possibilities for meeting traditional male expectations, as manifested in unemployment rates and the decreasing sizes of inherited land plots, which adds to diminished hopes for prosperity (and thus social recognition).

Alcohol is a huge issue in Kenya, and while both men and women may abuse alcohol, it is predominantly men who do so. Many of these are men who spend their days "at the shops," as one female ADS worker was informed by group members. Male alcohol abuse is strongly linked to Kenya's high rates of unemployment, which is a particularly male issue, not because there are more unemployed men than women, but because men are traditionally expected to provide from outside of the home, an avenue only recently considered for women, and mostly urban women. While women may work outside the home, their traditional sphere is the domestic. Men, on the other hand, are traditionally, or normatively, expected to work away from the home as the main providers, be that as a pastoralist or cash crop farmer or at a job.[715]

In the context of traditional male norms, joblessness or inability to undertake traditional pastoralist or agricultural work undermines male identity and is humiliating, not to mention leaving days empty, a situation ripe for exploitation by purveyors of cheap booze and even cheaper *chang'aa*. Compounding the situation of unemployment is the decreasing prospect of inheriting land substantial enough to support a family, since inherited land parcels have been divided so many times;[716] meanwhile the price of land for purchase has skyrocketed. This leaves minute possibilities of inheriting, or of leaving an inheritance to one's children. For fathers and sons alike, then, the ability to meet normative expectations for men is being shrunk by environmental, economic, and political forces – the same forces that increase commodity prices and force their wives to work sixteen hour days in order to keep their families together. Overall,

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[714] Nussbaum, Martha. Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach. Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[715] Wangui, Elizabeth Edna. "Livelihood Shifts and Gender Performances: Space and the Negotiation for Labor among East Africa's Pastoralists." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol.104, Issue 5, September 2014, 1068-1081. pp.1069, 1071, 1077-1078

[716] Jayne, T.S., and Milu Muyanga. "Effects of rising rural population density on smallholder agriculture in Kenya." *Food Policy*. Vol.48, October 2014, 98-113.

men, especially in more remote communities, experience significant increases of stress as their traditional roles diminish and are not replaced by new prospects, a situation that researchers have found will exacerbate substance abuse problems and probabilities.[717]

Alcohol leads to and exacerbates numerous other social problems – domestic unrest, financial instability, unemployment, depression, gender based violence, risky sexual and other behavior (and even death when the alcohol in question is *chang'aa,* illicitly manufactured "home brew" served in illegal establishments and made with methanol or other solvents). For people who are already poor, alcohol abuse is a proven method to remain in poverty. It saps creativity and energy, wastes time and scarce income, and destroys personal and community relationships, thereby eroding the kind of reputation that one needs to have if one is to be considered a dependable participant in any kind of income-generating venture.

In Kiritiri (a roadside village near ADSMKE Mayori sub-station), issues of alcohol abuse were particularly vivid, as we were invariably approached by very drunk (and mostly good humored) men any time we went there. By mid-day many would be lying unconscious at the roadsides. This level of alcohol abuse is readily visible in most towns and villages, and it shone a poignant clarity on the reasons that ADS staff abstain from drinking alcohol, a well as from smoking cigarettes. In these communities alcohol represents a destructive response to the failure of traditional norms to match current realities. If ADS wants to convince men that there is a constructive way around the disappearance of their social roles, then they must model it.

Toward this goal, ADS offers more than methods to improve one's livelihood, more than encouragement to think beyond the limitations of gender roles that are no longer practicable, and more than counseling and training for coping with the negative or abusive relationships that often accompany loss of identity and alcohol abuse (though it does offer all of these things). George Mwima and Penninah Amutsa explained that besides these things ADS staff have a personal responsibility for the image not only of ADS in a community, but for the image of the church, of Christ, and of Christians in general. George explained,

> You have to have [a] good image of a Christian, of Jesus Christ. So, because we work for the church, you know, we can't just go out drinking. We can't just go out doing anything in the community, because we carry the image of the church and we must portray that positive image of Christianity. Because if we don't do the

[717] Walt, Lisa C., Elias Kinoti, Leonard A. Jason. "Industrialization Stresses, Alcohol Abuse & Substance Dependence: Differential Gender Effects in a Kenyan Rural Farming Community." *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*, Vol.11, Issue 3, January 2013, 369-380.

> right thing, they will say, 'See, even the people of the church are messing [up].' And that's going to affect Christianity negatively.
> *Penninah*: And even the development.
> *George*: Yeah, the development. [They will think,] these are just like any other people. They are secularists.

Another ADS employee, who works near Kiritiri and asked not to be named, also described how staff are held to different standards than other residents, and than staff of other organizations. "The Christian [NGOs]," she said,

> they're very strict. Not even only when you are working, but they expect you to behave … even when you are not on duty. … To stay on Christian morals, even when you're not working, which is different from the other private companies. [As] a Christian, they don't expect you to go club hopping. [...] because you'll still be carrying the Christian community flag even when you're not working. [...]
> *Me*: And then would that harm CCS's work, do you think?
> *Respondent*: I think it would harm, because everyone knows it's a Christian organization. It's the ACK, the community knows that. So, because [we] teach there the development issues, we are also teaching on Christian values. So they will wonder, 'Will you teach this, and do this?' [Teach one thing, and do another?]

Avoiding behaviors discouraged in community members, like drinking alcohol or going to bars, as part of a leadership role in development strategy and relationships echoes Patrick Nderitu's stress on the need to resist short-cuts that lead to dependency creation. Hypocritical behaviors or using short-cuts, both, would undermine not only the actual work of ADS and the communities, but also contradict the ethos of self-empowerment that is central to the ADS approach to development. Such hypocrisy would undermine the authority of ADS – an authority based not on wielding power or instruments thereof (e.g. money), but on having established relationships of trust and respect with the communities where they work.

vi. Dependency "Culture"

Finally, and briefly, another entrenched practice with which ADS has to contend is "dependency culture," ironically brought into being by NGOs themselves. Like the issue described in section four, on gender disparities, of unmonitored beneficiary lists enabling continued exploitation of wives by husbands, the issue of dependency can be largely attributed to top-down, data-driven, long-distance development schemes that prioritize funding and NGO job security (development as business) over the long-term good of communities.

"Dependency" or "dependency culture" is the habit, positively reinforced, of expecting payment (in cash or goods) for participation in development projects, an expecation that co-exists

with the assumption that such projects or their representatives will be in a certain area for only a short period of time and are not strongly invested in effecting real change. Descriptions of dependency culture and the "dependency mindset" came from across the board. "Briefcase" and other NGOs were blamed for, essentially, buying data, that is, paying people to sign up as beneficiaries, but then not following through with projects. Alongside skepticism and mistrust, expectations of handouts results largely from corruption in development work in Kenya. The practice of handouts can decrease the success of programs that do not employ this method, because people lose interest when they realize they will not be paid to participate. In addition to buying data and paying participants, handouts take the form of relief aid. In non-crisis situations, the combined conditions of extreme poverty, difficult growing conditions, and dearth of organizations willing to work on sustainable capacity-building are often addressed through relief, on which people come to depend.

Prior to beginning in-depth training and support, ADS's introductory task is to convince people that it is in their own best interests to wean themselves from handouts. They explain that ending dependency leads to more food, more confidence, more freedom, and more security, not having to wonder what will happen when and if relief stops coming. Paul Wangechi described a shift in attitude and capacity among farmers who became able to do without relief, even though it was still coming in:

> ...when we [ADS] went in, we tried to tell the community that we have not come here to give handouts, or to give food, but we have come here to build your capacity, and to try to show you that you have so many resources, you have a lot of resources that you can utilize to better your situation. […] as we implemented our project, still there was relief food coming in, because we could not be able to control that. […] But then, those who were implementing, although they got that [relief], after they started receiving the harvest then they would not care whether there was relief coming. ...After all, they had food on their farms. So, someone could go for the relief food, not because he was hungry or anything, but because it is there; [but] whether it was there or not, [they] don't care.

At the same time, dependency is perpetuated by ongoing disbursements of relief and handouts in communities that are on their way to self-sufficiency. Wangechi continued:

> ...it becomes very hard sometimes to convince the government, and [those] who are in the relief business, for example the World Food Program, they are also [here] with relief food. So, sometimes it's not possible to tell them that '...all those dollars, thousands of dollars that you're spending on relief food – this money can be used to build the capacity of these people, to put the facilities like water and whatever, so that these people can get food.' …relief food is not sustainable. You

> cannot give people food forever. [...] So, [instead,] at the community level we are trying to do it, to show, to convince our community members how they can do to get food themselves, without depending on relief.

Wangechi's observations about handouts and NGO practices that reduce capacity were also raised in conversation with World Renew staff members, one of whom explained a dynamic of dependency culture as:

> When agencies go to communities to do data collection and baseline surveys, rather than answering straightforwardly, community members consider, 'What do you want to hear?' That is, 'What do you already think?' The community thinks, 'This person thinks we don't know what 1 + 1 is,' and so when the agency asks, 'What is 1 + 1?' the community responds, 'We don't know.'

And so resources are wasted repeating the same projects and mistakes. People know things, but they don't speak up, because they don't want to risk losing a handout.

Alongside the other aspects of ADS's context that I have here labeled "tradition," this reluctance to miss a handout supports the argument that, among the poor, negative behaviors like these are often predicated on the desire to reduce or mitigate risk, in what is already at any point a high risk living situation. Relatedly, active interest in changing these behaviors will only arise when or if people feel confident that the risks associated with change are adequately mitigated. In other words, change will only come with the building of trust and security. Cultivating trustworthiness is a core, consistent aim of ADS's development strategy.

vii. Tradition (and Preference) as Risk Aversion

An unexpected insight into the meaning of tradition in these contexts came out of an interview with Nyakinjeru ["dry land"] Group, which had come together to dig a water pan in order to have a closer source of water. The group was comprised mostly of women, and they described the ways they had been getting water until this point: each day traveling twenty kilometers (round trip) for four to six twenty liter jerry cans of water, sometimes hiring a donkey or bicycle to transport the jerry cans, though the cost of hiring had become prohibitive. On a daily basis they had the choice between fetching water from six am to noon, or spending part of their very hard-earned cash (through casual labor and selling crops) to purchase water for seventy shillings (about one dollar) per jerry can. I asked for how long people in Tharaka had been acquiring water in this way. One woman (and others nodded in agreement) responded that they had been getting water this way "since birth." That, as they grew up in the community, they "found it was like a tradition."

The cultural practices – traditions, habits – that I have described so far no doubt arise from and are buoyed by multiple forces. I suggest that "fetching water" is a helpful analogy for certain of these buoyant powers. Just as the norm of fetching water for six hours per day emerged at some definite point in history, so do inefficient and soil depleting land use, the farming of New World crops, the correlation of wealth with authority, corruption of police and government, gender disparities, and aid dependency arise from originary circumstances now largely dissipated. The current normalcy of these practices is the *habitus*, the objective historical structures and norms of interactions with these structures, into which community members are born and which is perceived as "natural," "obvious," or "given." The *habitus* is a site of normative power and as one grows up in these communities it is what one finds in place, "like a tradition."

Like the women who fetched water unquestioningly (at least, this is what they said) until the moment it was suggested there might be another, better way, so do most people engage in these other described traditions. Even corruption, though disliked and recognized as harmful, is by and large an aspect of life that is accepted, along with hungry months, washed out roads, and the voicelessness of penury. This is the way things are because this is the way things are (or have been).

Though "tradition" in this usage bears little of the values-weight that it does, for example, in its use defending maize as a cultural food way, or to support certain gender-based traditions (e.g. female circumcision) or kin relations (such as traditional marriage), it does provide a type of valuable security. Numerous scholars, notably Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, have termed this type of practical conservatism, tradition that seems like habit (or, as Dasgupta puts it, "self-sustaining modes of behavior"[718]), "risk aversion."

Banerjee and Duflo, in their outstanding book, *Poor Economics*, describe economic habits of the poor as risk aversion, or risk-minimizing, tactics. Addressing the daily economics of subsistence farmers, Banerjee and Duflo write:

> A friend of ours from the world of high finance always says that the poor are like hedge-fund managers – they live with huge amounts of risk. The only difference is in their levels of income. In fact, he grossly understates the case: No hedge-fund manager is liable for one hundred percent of his losses, unlike almost every small business owner and small farmer. Moreover, the poor often have to raise all of the capital for their businesses, either out of the accumulated 'wealth' of their families or by borrowing from somewhere, a circumstance most hedge-fund managers

[718] Dasgupta, 18

never have to face.[719]

Explaining this risk, they note that while drought and food crises "attract particular attention... even in 'normal' years, agricultural incomes vary from year to year," depending on increasingly erratic weather patterns and on the enormous fluctuations of agricultural prices, a factor over which subsistence farmers in developing nation economies have no sway. The difficulties of "normal" years in rural Kenya are attested to by the normalcy of annual "hungry months" (one meal a day), as well as the regularity of non-crisis droughts, and unpredictable crop input prices and markets. For the poor, moreover, add Banerjee and Duflo, "risk is not limited to income or food: Health... is one major source of risk [since, without public health care or private health insurance, small emergencies can lead to major financial setbacks]. There is also political violence, crime, and corruption."[720] All of these things are significant factors in the economic lives of not just the very poorest, but also of the less poor, lower classes, of Kenya.

Banerjee and Duflo describe various risk mitigation practices commonly adopted by the poor, such as having multiple occupations, cultivating multiple plots of land in different areas, the urban migration of some (but not all) family members, and linkages with other families and geographies via marriage. Among these is the management of farms or businesses in "traditional" ways, that is, "being very conservative" in their approach.[721] Traditional, or conservative, in this context means doing what produces a result that can be foreseen with certainty, even when the result is only a fraction of the potential of a farm or business. This certainty is chosen over practices of which the outcome is not completely certain and failure of which the very poor cannot afford, living on the edge of subsistence as they do – even when these practices are quite likely to have better results.

Security through risk aversion is especially relied on by people in living conditions that are or would be otherwise insecure (especially materially so). A number of normative practices in the Kenyan contexts that I saw fit this model of risk-avoiding choices, including the habitual-traditional practices that are described in this chapter. Thus, for ADS, such naturalized risk-aversion tactics – "fetching water" – comprise another contextual dimension that they must negotiate.

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[719] Banerjee, Abhijit V. and Esther Duflo. Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty. New York: Public Affairs, 2011. p134-135

[720] Ibid., 136; all quotes in paragraph

[721] Ibid., 142

IV. Risk Mitigation, Trustworthiness, and "Christian" Accountability

In Esther Duflo's second 2012 Tanner Lecture, "Hope as Capability," she suggests that "giving the poor the opportunity to experiment with a small amount of risk... may be a way to create the conditions for confidence and optimism."[722] This describes well one of the central broad approaches to development that ADS employs. With the help of World Renew, ADS is able to provide various forms of risk mitigating resources and services. Ironically, as an NGO and as religiously affiliated, one of the preliminary and central risks that ADS has to mitigate for many communities is itself. In order to do this, it must prove itself trustworthy.

There are several intrinsic and comparative facets of trust that are identified as important to the success of ADS's work. The most basic source of trust is the belief that Christianity demands of its adherents a way of life and standards of behavior and relationships that are different and "higher" – demonstrating more care and integrity – than are found in non-Christian[723] organizations, contexts, or relationships. ADS staff and leadership described these in both abstract and anecdotal terms, whereas community members identified these traits through evidence, that is, what they have observed about the organization that they attribute to its Christianity.[724]

Identification of and expectations regarding Christian norms and behaviors (implicit and explicit), that is, norms and behaviors that demonstrate trustworthiness, is tied into sets of local historical experiences with Christian and non-Christian organizations. Analysis of these expectations reveals that while such norms and behaviors might be considered par for a Christian course, they are at the same time generated by circumstance and history. Also notable is that mere declaration of Christianity is not taken seriously if the declarant's behavior (that of an individual or an organization) does not reflect these contextually identified norms.[725] The circumstance and history that confirm the Christianity of an organization within the contexts I have described are bi-fold: first, it will come through a church; and second, it will come through on its promises, and not cheat, lie, or in any way betray the community. These two practices are the main material

[722] Duflo, Esther. "Hope as Capability." Part Two of Tanner Lectures: Human Values and the Design of the Fight Against Poverty. Cambridge, MA: Mahindra Humanities Center, Harvard University, May 2012.

[723] I.e. "secular," though we did not discuss other religious organizations.

[724] This is expressed in terms of "Christian principles" and "Christian values," that is, in terms of Christian obligation or duty; as an identity perspective: "because that is just what Christians do"; in terms of higher calling, accountability to God and to (the reputation of) the church; and in the sense of a spiritual responsibility that is rooted within any Christian person and that cannot be denied without some feeling of failure and betrayal.

[725] A strong parallel to Weber's description of social demarcations of Christianity in *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* as well as in "The Protestant Sects."

grounds identified by my interviewees as bases for the trust that helps ADS projects to maintain participation and therefore have success.

i. "Christian" Accountability as Risk Mitigation

This chapter discusses the implications and sources of expectations of ADS within the communities with which it works. Within this is the issue of what it means for ADS to be Christian, viz., whether it matters, and how. One way of asking that is to ask what forms of advantage are provided to groups and individuals, or become accessible, and in what ways, through affiliation with ADS (or Christianity). I suggest that social and economic resources become more accessible because of certain differences that ADS presents: different expectations, requirements, and vision, that take meaningful form in this context.

In this section I look at types of socio-economic advantage that result from association with Christianity and with Christian development organizations and their work in the contexts I visited. Through its behaviors of accountability ADS passes on both the socio-symbolic privilege of its affiliation with the church and the socio-economic advantages of its connections with outside donors (viz., funding and expertise, which are linked with reputation). For staff and participants alike, adherence to the behaviors (accountability, reliability, transparency, etc.) and practices (techniques, disciplines) that ADS espouses embodies and reifies these as ways of life, and as differences that demonstrate and produce trustworthiness.[726] These behaviors and practices are also beneficial in and of themselves. The social and economic possibilities that ADS presents and represents are actualized via the implementation of certain practices and behaviors that are part of its development platform. While these behaviors are not intrinsically or necessarily

[726] The vision of social trust I outline here is of the character and dynamic that Pierre Bourdieu describes in his theory of forms of capital, wherein trust is a form of social capital, or power, that is legitimated and actuated via symbolic capital, or the power of societal recognition. Though for simplicity's sake I chose not to use an explicitly Bourdieuian analysis, what follows is strongly reflective of his view of social relationships and the workings of power and advantage.
Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital." In J. Richardson (ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood, 1986. Version used here found online at <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm> [Accessed 10July2014.]
nb. I chose not to use Robert Putnam's well-known works on trust as social capital (*Bowling Alone*; *Making Democracy Work*), even though trust is a core component of the social capital that I look at in this analysis. I made this decision because for Putnam trust is a central aspect of, particularly, a type of social capital that is necessary for the building and maintenance of a democratic system of governance at a national level. In Putnam's work, then, social capital is a different thing than in Bourdieu's, where "social capital" refers to an indirect capacity of access to other forms of capital (which come fundamentally down to economic), through one's network of interpersonal connections. Since what I am examining is a certain context of human relations for economic purposes, wherein trust is a key component of its success, Putnam's version of trust as social capital does not really fit here.

"Christian," in this particular case they *are* Christian; and, in this case, necessarily so, because ADS's "Christian" name has come to signify trustworthiness in these communities. Christianity represents trustworthiness, which is also, here, difference. This difference generates socio-economic (social leading to economic in fairly direct ways, and vice versa) advantage or access at the individual level by presenting itself as low risk behavior – for example in some cases breaking with traditions of other low risk behaviors that have become inefficient (e.g. fetching water).[727] Through SHGs and CBOs working with ADS, a network or community of trustworthy, low-risk and therefore worthwhile and constructive, associations is created.

Jonathan Tan and Esther Duflo corroborate the correlations that I suggest here between risk, trust, and socio-economic dis/advantages. In his discussion paper, "Behavioral Economics of Religion," Jonathan Tan describes trustworthiness as a core aspect of Christian ethical tradition, conveyed with particular poignancy by the story of the betrayal of Christ by his disciples at Gethsemane, but also in many other parables and stories throughout the bible.[728] About the socio-economic repercussions of trust, Tan writes:

> Trust facilitates positive social outcomes such as economic growth, because of the lower downside risks, which breeds increased trade amidst reduced transactional costs and default-related loss. [...] Successful relationships, be it in the private or professional sphere, are often characterized by trust and reciprocity that yields mutual benefits to the parties involved, such that they are efficiently realized without the need to incur monitoring costs.[729]

Tan also adds that "positive social history, i.e. the reputation of cooperativeness of a group or institution based on the history of action, can play [a positive role] in promoting cooperation" by presenting the group as a low-risk transactional partner.[730] Tan's assessment here is true of ADS and also becomes true of SHGs and CBOs that work with ADS. In the eyes of other individuals and groups, this partnership becomes part of that group's "history of action" and so creates or adds to its representation as a "low-risk transactional partner." This representation, I argue,

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[727] Some risks that might make one continue with low-gain, low-risk inherited behaviors or practices, rather than attempt higher-profit practices, include: risk of losing a handout (thus remaining with dependency rather than empowerment); risk of becoming detached from kin or other established social ties and then not effectively forming others; risk of social approbation or exclusion; risk of coming away with nothing, or a loss, instead of the small but predictable customary gain; risk of mockery.

[728] Tan, Jonathan H.W. "Behavioral Economics of Religion" in Paul Oslington (ed.) Oxford Handbook of Christianity and Economics. Oxford University Press, 2013, 512-531. p.8 Used online version at <http://www.christian-economists.org.uk/Tan%20DP%20011.pdf> [Accessed 22 July 2012]

[729] Ibid., 8

[730] Ibid., 9

derives from the initial force of ADS's demonstrated "higher" accountability.

Low-risk behavior and investment in one's own economic advance are in themselves ways of increasing proximity to economic capital, and they also increase that proximity by marking one as a more advantageous / less risky associate, with whom it is worth cultivating relationship.[731] Behavioral changes create new and different opportunities to leverage assets, including relations to certain sets of people, that existed but had perhaps not been accessible due to prior subjective factors (practices, attitudes, perceptions). Such a positive shift can have exponential repercussions as one's network grows. It "pays" dividends, in other words, to demonstrate behaviors which show oneself as a safe economic bet and thus increase one's chances for association with others who also show those behaviors and who actively desire to cultivate the socio-economic advantages thereof.

Ron'gan'ga Church CCMP (Church and Community Mobilization Process) group in Macumo (part of ADSMKE) is a good example of a group of individuals that is always working to increase its own and its community's socio-economic advantage. CCMP participants do non-denominational, non-proselytizing outreach to the Ron'gan'ga community to encourage the formation of resource-mobilizing Self-Help Groups.[732] Similarly, Raphael Kinuthia Wainaina, in Mount Kenya region, is a long-time CBO member who is socially and economically invested in the spread of ADS's cultural-behavioral changes (for example being very vocal about the importance of gender equality in groups). His CBO is one which, with the help of ADS, presented a successful proposal for a large-scale, long-range development initiative that would benefit around ninety SHGs in his CBO's locale, Makwa.[733] In Western Region, Godfrey Owiri, mentioned earlier, is another excellent example of an SHG member who ADS has helped discover existing assets and how to actualize and multiply these even as a person living with HIV.

Low-risk behavior that makes one an appealing social connection, such as demonstrated by these groups and individuals, includes behaviors considered to signify trustworthiness. This, somewhat paradoxically, includes breaking with negative behaviors that are "low risk" only because they are the norm. Breaking with obstructive or destructive norms and practices is an

[731] What this also implies is that changing one's behavior does not necessarily put one into proximity with new people. Rather, it increases the possibility for new and improved – more positive – relationships within the same communities [from relations to relationships].

[732] People who have completed the CCMP training undertake this outreach as CCREPs (Church and Community Representatives).

[733] The project and proposal were co-opted in the end by local politicians and investors, but the point here is that the CBO is successfully expanding its advantages.

indication of low-risk or positive socio-economic relations because it involves a conscious decision to make the changes and choices necessary to begin new practices. In a sense, the person who makes such a change is lower risk because s/he has taken a risk – in this case a calculated risk, which demonstrates investment in achieving economic advance, and shows a certain type of character (and resolve). Such change is, however, not an obvious choice.

As noted in the previous section, the conservation of risk-aversion is significantly formative of the *habitus* of rural poor people in Kenya. To quote Duflo differently,

> The lack of any prospect for real transformation in life may... hamper the willingness or ability of individuals to try to make the very best of the (lousy) cards they were dealt. Symmetrically, the fear of losing what little they have and of finding themselves stuck on the wrong side of a poverty trap may affect the way those who have just escaped extreme poverty choose to behave. If households have no insurance against a catastrophic illness or accident, a bad harvest, or a bad break for the business, they may decide to run their lives as conservatively as possible to smooth out the impact of those shocks. They may choose to stick with known technologies... rather than try something new... even if they believe that on average there are great potential gains from these new technologies.[734]

In the Kenyan context I have described in this chapter and chapters two and five it is clear that for most people in the poor and lower classes, there is no safety net – public or private – with which to secure oneself in order to attempt a step forward. Subsistence home economics leave no room for missteps and so millions of people remain in a stasis of struggle with the devil they know, rather than risk an even worse situation.

In light of this, possibly the most significant part of what ADS does is to provide a convincingly secure framework in which people are able to take a risk without, as with Banerjee and Duflo's impoverished hedge fund manager, bearing one hundred percent of the responsibility for its outcome. It does this by being inclusive and ecumenical; by being trustworthy, accountable, and committed; and by providing ways out of and around practices that are low-risk but negative normals.

This risk-mitigating development praxis directly opposes communities' negative and damaging experiences of exploitation and deception. The praxis is effected through structures and behaviors that ADS accesses, employs, and teaches. These structures and behaviors are intertwined, since they arise out of the Christian position of ADS, which is both a material and an ethical or moral positioning, one with visible, tangible history, on and out of which is enacted the

[734] Duflo, 37

ongoing embodiment of motivations and paradigms borne of faith and care.

ii. Forms and Processes of Risk Mitigation through Accountability and Empowerment

This section suggests that internalized obligations to meet a different set of standards, such as the "accountability" described in Part I of this chapter, are recognized in these development locales as Christian because they take a particular, necessary, contextual form. Thin ideals in action must meet localized behavioral codes that, in turn, signify to local others the principles held and represented by a person or group. On both the personal and organizational level ADS and its staff maintain these standards – express the local behavioral codes – that signify thickly defined trustworthiness, accountability and "Christianity."

Though the initial impetus to meet or aspire to a better, "higher" level of accountability may stem from personal conviction shaped by faith, the content or image of what this *is* or what it entails is a thick social process. This process is greatly shaped by the distinction of a self or an organization from those with "lower" motivations,[735] as well as by local demands for and identification of such distinction. At a meeting of the Gacage Wendani Morimi farming Self-Help Group in Macumo[736] a group member noted that the church basis of ADS meant that it was responsible to the same level and type of accountability as the church: "CCS [(ADS)] is church-based, and the church preaches about welfare, so CCS is committed to [the SHG's] welfare because if CCS fails, the church has also failed."[737] Because ADS is church-based, added another member, everything they're doing is under the guidance of God. Like the Puritans in Weber's famous analysis,[738] ADS is required to "prove" this guidedness, in both senses of the term: show it as evident, and bring it to ripeness, or fruition. This "proof" comes through projects that are seen through to the end not just in letter but in spirit – i.e. that meet not just the explicit terms of the funder-ADS contract but also participants' reasonable expectations of the project's outcomes. This means implementing projects that are sustainable, not just short term, and not dependency-creating.

This burden of proof is one to which ADS is held *by* communities but it is also part of the development package that they present *to* communities and, as such, a burden that is also

[735] Distinguishing marks of both higher and lower are defined by the particular histories of places and communities.
[736] 20 July 2012, Nicholas Omondi translating.
[737] Anon female member of group.
[738] In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

undertaken by SHG and CBO members when they commit to partnering with ADS. ADS's relationship with community members facilitates different sorts of virtuous cycles that are tied into the form and practices of the ADS-community relationships. The basic structure of this relationship, as noted, is through CBOs and SHGs. ADS does not work with individuals, only groups, and these are required to have formed independently, that is, without the involvement of ADS. Before approaching ADS, community members are required to form the mutual interest group called a self-help group (which can later be officially registered as a CBO).

Within SHGs – especially ones that come to associate with ADS – a set of new social expectations develops, arising from peer group shifts and the collectively expected benefits of that shift. The new expectations derive from the formation of a different peer group and are alternative (vs. "normal") pressures or expectations articulated within that group. These alternatives are enforced and reinforced by the group itself through the benefits of staying in the group, which are the benefits of successfully completed development projects, and the deterrent of forfeiting these benefits if one does not live up to the new social norms of the group. The benefits stem from meeting group expectations, and expectation of benefit is also what motivates initial group formation and perpetuates its cohesion. Benefits and expectations, or group norms, comprise another virtuous cycle.

These new peer expectations are glossed as "Christian" – not because they are necessarily or only Christian, but because within this socio-historical-developmental context these behaviors (accountability, teamwork, empowerment, reliability), evaluated comparatively, have been and continue to be primarily associated with ("true") Christian organizations and persons – *in contrast* to secular. The role of ADS in this is fundamental. ADS connects community members to a number of forms of capital. Through ADS one can access: donor funding, and technical support and expertise; improved reputation (one's own, increased by association with ACK and ADS); other groups and thus further networks of reliable connections; the virtuous cycle of increased group size (as increased group success leads to increased membership leads to increased success); and "Christian" (viz. reputable) partners. Without ADS in particular, these groups have tended to dissipate and meet irregularly, their praxis negatively affected by the caprices of unreliable aid and lackadaisical government services. ADS's work, characterized above all by its disciplined, "higher" accountability, becomes a source of stability and trust for these communities as they come to realize that ADS is driven by different principles than other

NGOs.

The presence and possibility of a partner like ADS provides impetus and appeal to the formation of these groups and has an ongoing "weeding out" effect, in that members who are not "serious" will soon become incapable of maintaining the necessary behaviors for successful program implementation (behaviors that also demonstrate commitment to – and thus belonging in – the group). Again, though these expectations and requirements are not necessarily "Christian" *per se*, that is, self-help group members may or may not themselves all be confessing believers, it remains the case that engaging with ADS in a serious fashion requires, implicitly if not explicitly, what is classed in these contexts as "Christian" behavior. Groups, in order to succeed and move forward, have to demonstrate the kind of character, resolve, and dedication that is built into the structures, movements, and lessons – the demands – of ADS programs.

In a very concrete sense, one could say that ADS staff and programs transfer the dictates of their own consciences into the design and demands of the programming and support that they offer. Groups and their members, in order to succeed, do well to internalize these dictates which in this way "trickle down" from a Christian source. At the same time, to be appealing, effective, and credible (and to have longevity and get funding), such conscientious dictates from within ADS must respond to and address concerns that are specific to the experiences and preferences of the groups. In other words, a faith- or principles-based obligation to meet a particular set of standards (e.g., a Christian's sense of "duty") takes contextual form. Such generalized obligations, to be recognized as met, must adhere in content to particular behavioral codes that are locally recognized as signifying the inner state or set of principles held by a person or group.

Both ADS and its affiliated CBO members employ localized behavioral codes to signify distinction within and from their *habitus*: ADS, from unreliable and untrusted NGOs and from corrupt authorities; community members from other people in the community who are not working to increase their various capitals (i.e. who are a higher risk network). Meeting these behavioral codes legitimizes ADS and community members' claims to capital, thus transforming and augmenting their newly acquired economic and social resources into reputation, authority, and trustworthiness.

The behavioral codes, while overlapping in general provenance, differ in specificities between ADS and SHGs and CBOs. In an incomplete and regionally varying list, beginning with general demands, followed by specifics for ADS and then groups, the behavioral codes I

observed at work are as follows:

General

- trustworthy, accountable, no "cheating," transparent, working toward sustainability or a long-term goal, reliable

Specific (ADS)

- Asset Identification or community (and personal) empowerment
- "spiritual development" – the goal of changing minds
- no handouts
- requirements for group and individual contributions that are achievable and equitable
- holistic, sustainable processes and end goals
- utilization and application of local staff and local knowledge
- ties to a known, trusted, local institution (the ACK)
- long-term, close-range projects with multiple stages that are transparent to the community
- exceed minimum requirements for project management and accomplishment (do one's best)
- prevention and avoidance of corruption in self and others
- cultivation of strong relationships with CBOs and SHGs

Specific (SHGs/CBOs; these are also required of ADS staff)

- abstain from alcohol (and cigarettes; distance oneself from those who don't abstain)
- organization, scheduling, and setting priorities; punctuality, self-discipline. For example, keep records, have and maintain daily, medium- and long-term plans and goals, attend meetings, keep commitments (in part by making reasonable ones, e.g. 20 not 200 shillings per meeting, and so not setting oneself up for failure), repay loans (on time, or with interest) – in other words, meet agreed upon social expectations. This cultivates a virtuous cycle of pride and reliability.
- help others; reach out
- fair economic practices (wages, prices, payments)
- sexual mores[739]

[739] Faithfulness. In polygamous societies men are encouraged to be faithful to their wives, rather than practice monogamy.

- proper, respectful use of human and natural resources
- respect of self and others (especially in the areas of human rights, gender equality, and HIV/AIDS stigma)
- stable relationships: personal (family) and social (group; business)

These behavioral codes are signs and signifiers of "accountability." In these contexts they *point to* an organization's or individual's "higher" accountability, and are likewise *expected of* an organization or individual deemed accountable.

Association with Christianity, then, comes with a great deal of advantage, but also a great deal of responsibility. This fact is clear in the minds of ADS staff, who themselves are Christian, or are at least cognizant of the value of ADS's use of Christian behaviors to cultivate reputation while establishing local connections. Responsibilities to God and the church enter into ADS's community relations by bestowing on ADS an initial appeal and associated set of expectations; and by informing the content and shape of programs and projects, especially in the form of behaviors expected from participants – a two-way associative dynamic.

Examples of this kind of behavior and association are found throughout the SHGs and CBOs that I met with, especially those already well-established. For many, access to services offered by ADS is an outcome of social networks previously cultivated; for example, a number of SHGs had been together for some time already, and were now partnering with ADS for the first time (or were moving forward into the next stage of an ADS project). Belonging to a group that is working together on a project or toward a goal provides members with not only the economic strength of the others, but also with the moral strength of a group, a necessary resource when seeking to alter negative but normal (and normative) practices within one's own life and relations – behaviors that are the default, expected and accepted by most people.

Much of the positive change that ADS has begun to see in partner communities has taken the form of countermovements against practices commonly referred to as "traditional" and sometimes as culture, which change is spoken of as empowerment. An empowered community consists of men and women who have come to realize that the way they have been doing certain things is not working and that, in order to achieve the kinds of security they desire, they need to fundamentally adjust how they have been doing these things, which includes the ways they think about them. Progress has been made, for example, in the struggle against dependency culture. People are learning a different perspective on what is their due. They are demanding

accountability, along with their rightful goods and services, from government agents and contractors. As Rebeccah at WRADS put it, communities are finding their voices and how to use them.

A similar shift can be said to be happening for women in many communities, which seems in part facilitated by a community's general sense of or increase in empowerment. The work of women to empower themselves is helped by the empowerment of men in their community who have learned – in a virtuous increase of their own and women's empowerment – to view women differently than is the norm, and to have different (more equal and thus more productive) expectations of their own behaviors in relation to women. For example, women who previously depended on their husbands for money now earn their own income through means like dairy goats or poultry. This in turn frees the men from onerous expectations and the accompanying indignity of being unable to meet them. In other cases, though, men still view the work of women as part and product of men's property. Therefore in some contexts women continue to need to form women-only groups while elsewhere there can be a mixed-gender CBO in which members of both sexes loudly criticize sexist behavior; or where a woman leads a group of which her husband is a member.

In communities where gender relations remain oppressive, women are forging new socio-economic narratives for themselves apart from men. Men usually control these women's financial and other means, and so they have extremely minimal collateral with which to become independent. By forming different types of savings and loan associations with very low contribution requirements, however, over time these women can build their collateral. This determination demonstrates a rejection of the dictates of normative gender roles, a mindset of empowerment.

The cultivation of this kind of empowerment for women, men, and whole communities is the cultivation of different perspectives on the world and, correspondingly, different perspectives on oneself in the world. Because of its trustworthiness and accountability, ADS is able to demand the same behaviors from its local partners. The demand for trustworthiness and accountability encompasses the call to evaluate oneself and one's context (asset identification) and determine to maximize the values and assets found therein. One of the assets that ADS trains people to realize and utilize is themselves, as individuals and communities with inherent and legal rights. This lesson is woven in and through every project and program that ADS runs, underwriting the

promotion of self-sustenance, sustainability, and independence or anti-dependence. This realization is a transformation, a process of actualization in which ADS does not *change* peoples' minds so much as help them to recognize and activate what they already think, know, and desire.

This process of internal transformation is, as I have said, a process that occurs in sync with changes of practice. It is an embodied transformation, accomplished through choices that contravene norms, endeavors ordinarily not ventured because the risk is too great. The norms and traditions that ADS seeks to help communities alter are contextual, such as gender roles, money practices, acquiescence to corrupt behavior, inefficient farming or domestic techniques, and the correlation of wealth with legitimate authority. Since, as explained earlier, ADS's community partners are overwhelmingly characterized by the inability to sustain any loss, and therefore continue low-risk but self-defeating behaviors, practices, and associations, ADS buffers risk via subsidies, constant check-ups, and thorough training by local experts. Safeguards against risk or loss are also built into the structure of the projects that are undertaken. For example, in VSL groups, table-banking, and other financial set-ups, even a group as small as three people is constructed as a set of interlocking pieces, none of which can move without disturbing the others. This structure, also employed with other types of voluntary groups, like those digging water wells, or maintaining boreholes or irrigation set-ups, provides participants with security against theft, cheating, or other anti-group behaviors. No member can act in secret or in collusion with other members without the rest of the group holding them accountable, and each member has as much to lose as the others.[740]

The difference that Christianity makes for ADS as it provides these services is not intrinsic, i.e. is not a matter of the particular properties of Christianity or of the projects, but rather contextual, a matter of the particularities of place. In these areas, organizations that are supposed to have come to mitigate risk have, by the history of their actions and by the corruption of their implementation (generally by neglect or carelessness), themselves become and created a new category of risk. Out of all the organizations that have come through the regions where ADS now works, churches – particularly the Anglican Church – have been some of the only institutions to settle for the long term. Thus the Christianity of ADS matters in this sense because it mitigates the risk that ADS, as a development NGO, at first represents in these contexts.

[740] Though granted, in flat rate contribution schemes the poorer members take a greater risk, in terms of the percentage of assets that they have to invest, than the more well-off.

In her article on wife inheritance, to which I refer in part three, section four, Ruth Prince describes another type of instance when Christianity mitigates risk, not by preaching against or trying to demolish or eliminate a practice itself, but by existing as an alternate discourse and community. To Christians in the Nyanza region, where most Luos live, especially those identifying as "Saved" or "born again" (i.e. not just nominal), "widow inheritance is a 'backward' or 'heathen' practice."[741] As such, it is "part of a body of 'traditional' practice that is seen to compromise modern and Christian identities." In the "Saved" view, writes Prince,[742] "'growth' or development is contingent upon a rupture with the past. This requires the individual to be 'born-again,' to live a Christian life by disengaging with practices and social relations that compromise this identity."[743] Widows who identify as "born again," then, are required by faith to refuse the ritual of widow inheritance – which is also tied to the spread of AIDS and to the disinheritance of widows.[744] In her research Prince found that "both Saved and non-Saved emphasize that Salvation is popular among widows in Uhero [the village area she focused on] – in 2001, 35% of widows in Uhero were Saved – because it allows them to refuse *tero* [widow inheritance]."[745]

In Prince's article, which is thematically parallel to Lonsdale's "Kikuyu Christianities," and also to the community development contexts I encountered, the alterity of Christianity as an institution respected for its power and influence, if not for intrinsic reasons, seems to provide a lee way, safe haven, and social-moral support for people making choices that repudiate normative practice. Identification of these choices as Christian, in a society where "Christian" denotes respectability and power, is another type of risk mitigation. The church offers an alternative community so that those who reject negative normals are not socially stranded. This applies, e.g., to the recalibration of gender norms, and especially to women who may be left propertyless and vulnerable by traditional norms.[746]

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[741] Prince, 50

[742] Talking about a particular development of Christianity in her context.

[743] Prince, 52

[744] Ibid., 53

[745] Ibid., 62. This is not to say that non-Christian women are not allowed to refuse to be inherited but, especially for women of less social or economic means, the pressure can be very strong and otherwise difficult to refuse.

[746] It seems important to highlight the matter of not conflating the role of Christianity, here, with Westernization. Doing so undermines the vitality and viability of African Christianity (not in fact, just in narrative), and implies an incredulity regarding the reality of the faith lives of African / Kenyan Christians. As well, it underestimates the desire and capacity of people to seek improvements in their quality of life without reference to (what the Westernization thesis assumes is) some outside version of a "better" way of life. It is condescending to imagine that the standard of improvement used the world over is based on a "Western" way of life (and also involves the erroneous assumption that such a singular, identifiable thing exists). Most Kenyans I have met, in fact, have little

In sum, I would repeat the point that in many ways Christianity in this context both offers a legitimate way around or alternative to traditional or normative practices with negative effects, and the means to recognize these and make such a choice. It seems to me that one of the goals of development aid in general – and one of the complications – is similar: to model alternative ways of life and ways of doing things that are more materially (and ethically) sustainable than current practices. Contra strategy that seeks to identify and target "negative traditions," though, the composite of Christianity and development goals that I describe here produces a self-(de)selection of negative and positive traditions, stemming organically from local – even individual – experiences and the desires to prosper materially and to live accountably.

Conclusion

In the context I examine, Christianity and ADS function as both signifier and source of socio-economic advantage that arises out of a socially recognized reputation of trustworthiness, attributed both to ADS and to its partner groups. This advantage has several forms, and is a dynamic, embodied, process.

First is the practical and tangible socio-economic advantage afforded by participation in CBOs and ADS projects, through the technical training in more efficient and sustainable farming, labor, and fiscal practices, and the financial support and subsidization of new practices. But these cannot be regarded separately from subjective (perceptual) goods, which work in dialectic with the historical and material. The perception of ADS as a trustworthy partner reduces perceived risk to a reasonable level. Once this trust is in place, the material change can follow. At the same time, material change is an indicator of ADS's trustworthiness.

A second socio-economic advantage for ADS and its partners is that Christians, Christian organizations, and people affiliated with them are considered more trustworthy and therefore as more desirable partners for business and investment ventures. This inferred trustworthiness affects the reputations of all members of an ADS-affiliated CBO, and of a church, and extends beyond the parameters of Christian community *per se*. Third, and relatedly, because Christianity (for better or worse) has a history of opposition to local cultures, Christians are understood as being in significant degree free of (or having the social capacity to reject) traditional or normative

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imagination of life in the West (beyond easy, abundant money, and few to no life stresses), and would certainly be insulted by an implication that efforts to improve themselves or their situation somehow were rooted in a desire to emulate Western lifestyles, as though they, as Africans, feel that the African lifestyle is inferior. Continuing to view Christianity in (and now of) Africa as a colonial remnant misjudges the agency of Africans both under colonial rule and now, under self-rule.

encumbrances that might negatively affect business enterprises or investment success (e.g. kin obligations, land inheritance rules, traditional authorities, and tribal rivalry, competition, or xenophobia). Thus, again, association with ADS and, by proxy, with the church, is socio-economically advantageous, since it casts one in a new light as a potential partner for business or other ventures.

In conclusion, two major shifts are key to the multilevel process of community development as facilitated by ADS. Parallel and interdependent, these shifts are made visible by sets of behavioral codes that are rooted in the particular historical-material contexts this chapter has described:

1) The growth of distinctive lifestyles (and therefore of groups characterized and *recognized* by this distinction) within existent contexts, which create (the possibility of) access to resources and advantages heretofore out of reach. This is in part (largely!) accomplished by the ADS development practice of helping people to recognize and then appropriate and actuate resources that they already have. A good deal of this approach involves or requires adjustments of habit and lifestyle, leading to the growth of distinctive lifestyles as first a byproduct and then a perpetuator of these shifts, in a virtuous cycle of increase. For example, implementing recommended low-input agricultural techniques at first requires a notable increase in attentiveness to crops and planning. This requires adjustment of day to day activities, since one now has a daily schedule of events (and expenditures) that must be kept in order to succeed in the new techniques. One's social habits now will likely alter noticeably. After some time (a few growing seasons), it will be seen that this change in habits has resulted in an increased crop yield. As this person continues to implement planning in their farming practices, continuing to differ from many (most) of his/her neighbors, perhaps s/he will join a savings group, or begin to expand their farming or business. From beginning to the end, this is the development of a distinctive lifestyle. These distinctive lifestyles are cultivated in groups that are affiliated with ADS.
2) The activation of new values and meanings, which is part of the process of empowerment. ADS is doula to the development and birth of latent preferences and priorities. Besides material assets, it helps activate human assets and points of view which exist already but have not yet been recognized. ADS does not exactly “change” peoples' minds, in other words, but rather enables them to see and articulate in meaningful terms – to recognize,

and thereby *activate* – what they already think, know, and value: a process of empowerment.

Within these processes of distinctive lifestyle and empowerment, ADS's value to the community is rooted in its recognition by the community as endowed with different meaningful properties (accountability, trustworthiness) than comparable bodies in this context. Through its reliable presence as risk mitigator ADS supports (creates, instigates, catalyzes) the establishment of new differences and new status groups: SHGs and CBOs. As such, these create and occupy new social space(s), provide new means of access to various types of resources and assets, and themselves become purveyors of change once they are recognized as legitimate in the eyes of others. This latter process – acquisition of legitimacy – is part of what ADS helps facilitate. This legitimation is possible a) because of ADS's long-term engagement; b) because ADS is responsive to the needs, assets, desires, and accomplishments of the various communities with which it works. Furthermore, recognition of legitimacy is part of what ADS trains groups to learn to demand, in the language and practice of "rights" and empowerment.

The new norms (yet differences) of the distinctive groups do not come from Christianity by an obvious route. The groups and members are, after all, not required to be Christian. That said, the possibility of such transformation derives in various ways from the Christianity (commitments, values, accountability, conscience) of ADS. Thus the differences that Christianity makes are less "made" than realized, or performed; but, in this, Christianity does concretely "matter" for development here.

Chapter 7

THE (RE)FORMATIONS OF WORLD RENEW

Introduction

This is the final chapter in which I describe part of the set of parameters by which World Renew conducts its development work in Kenya. While these parameters are extrinsic to the work of development *per se*, and while World Renew is perhaps not bound to address each set of expectations and requirements directly, it must nonetheless respond to them – or, nevertheless *does* respond, whether explicitly or not. The parameters, or conditions, as I hope by now is clear, emerge out of the multilectic of various perceptions and understandings of World Renew, as well as more objective conditions by which World Renew is directly and indirectly affected.

This chapter addresses the history and content of World Renew's formal responsibilities as a "committee-agency" of the CRCNA. It provides organizational data and background for World Renew, with a focus on how theological factors have influenced its practice as a development NGO. It examines tensions and paradoxes that characterize the CRCNA's institutional praxis and with which World Renew, as the core recipient and executor of this faith community's and institution's international diaconal desires, must to an extent contend.

The research for this chapter derives almost entirely from primary sources. To uncover a picture of the various institutional influences on World Renew I combed through over fifty years of CRC Synod meeting archives, stories about itself that World Renew presents online as promotional and educational materials, and of course the interviews that I conducted with World Renew staff in Kenya. From these sources I gleaned operational and historical data about the organization, which is where this chapter begins. More significantly, I was able to gather information about the roles and expectations of World Renew – those that are part of its mandate and those that emerge from the organization's own internal decisions and self-representations. Such roles and expectations have since its inception influenced the priorities, growth, directions, and capabilities of this aid organization's work.

Part I of this chapter delivers a brief history of the emergence of World Renew as an organization. It describes what World Renew does and its structural and mandated relations with the Christian Reformed Church, with its partners, and with the communities it reaches through

these partners. This is followed by a history and summary of World Renew's work in Kenya. Part III delves more closely into the evolution of World Renew as a responsive church body, examining the shifts and contours of its formation as part of and as answerable to church history, demands, and authority, which reflect in part constituent desires, priorities, and vernacular theologies. Part IV looks at certain dynamics within the CRC regarding church ministry, of which World Renew is part, that are particular to the Kuyperian strand of thought within CRC history and doctrine.

I. Brief History of World Renew

i. Formation

World Renew is a faith-based NGO (non-governmental organization) that works in disaster relief, community development, and advocacy, both domestically and internationally. It describes itself as "the development, disaster response, and justice arm of the Christian Reformed Church in North America." Within and through this work, its "mission is to engage God's people in redeeming resources and developing gifts in collaborative activities of love, mercy, justice, and compassion."[747] True to its Kuyperian roots, when World Renew says "God's people" it means "all people": in the church proper and outside of it, around the globe and in every economic situation. Like many NGOs, its programs are designed to help impoverished and marginalized communities in the global South improve their quality of life. Unlike most NGOs, its mandate also includes the charge to aid the prosperous toward a deep understanding of global issues, and help them toward action and advocacy on behalf of the needy. This task is primarily accomplished by bringing the affluent and the poor into proximity in various ways, so that effective connections can be made that result in empathic and sympathetic (in the sense of mutual, or shared, feelings) relationships.

The establishment of World Renew – called CRWRC: the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee from 1962 to 2012 – resulted from the church's gradually growing need for an overarching organization to manage a number of in-depth, long-term ministries to which the church was committed. The earliest roots of CRWRC/World Renew (I will use these names interchangeably in this chapter, depending what point of history I'm discussing) are in relief efforts by American CRCs on behalf of people in the Netherlands immediately following WWII,

[747] World Renew. "About Us." <www.worldrenew.net_about-us> [Accessed 28 Feb 2015]

to whom were disbursed "clothing, bedding, etc.";[748] as well as relief in response to the 1953 flood in the Netherlands; and relief in following years to Korea at the close of the Korean War, to a tornado in Michigan, and to Typhoon Vera in Japan.[749]

> CRWRC was formally organized in February 1962, on grounds that:
>
> a. It would be more advantageous for one central committee to solicit funds than for several committees to do so.
>
> b. Our Christian Reformed Church is increasingly being called upon to give a world-wide witness to its Christian expression of mercy.
>
> c. There is becoming evident a need to administer relief to the Christians whom our missionaries serve in other lands.[750]

These early motivating concerns have been constant themes throughout World Renew's history: funding – the best means to acquire it and best uses for funds raised; the world-wide witness of the church through acts of mercy – what that includes (and excludes) and requires; and the combination of deed with word (including the question of whether the reverse is also necessary in literal terms). It was also in conjunction with the establishment of CRWRC that the movement to establish regional deacons conferences[751] in Canada and the U.S. began, so that the world relief committee would have diaconal representation from "all sections of the denomination."[752] In 1962, therefore, CRWRC "was deliberately made a 'committee of deacons' [and] in order to be a board member of CRWRC, one needed to be a deacon or a former deacon."[753] The organization was and is, in other words, intended to be the major diaconal agency of the CRCNA. As discussed in chapter four of this thesis, the office of deacon in the CRC is charged with enacting Christ's mercy in the forms of physical or material ministries, as well as seeking justice for the marginalized, persecuted and imprisoned (literally and metaphorically). The office of deacon is also responsible for cultivating Christ's compassion among the CRC constituency. Through this close tie CRWRC has come to have a strong influence on the diaconal identity of the CRCNA

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[748] Acts of Synod 1964. "Supplement No. 38." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Publishing House, 1964. p.417

[749] Ibid., 417, 418

[750] Acts of Synod 1962. "Supplement No. 21." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Publishing House, 1962. p.321

[751] Regional governing bodies and associations of church deacons, e.g. NADC – Northern Alberta Diaconal Conference.

[752] Acts of Synod 1962. p.321

[753] Acts of Synod 1984. "Report 6-A: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee Supplement (Arts. 107, 112)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1984. p.473

and, importantly, vice versa – diaconal ideas and identity within the church have long been a guiding influence on CRWRC.

CRWRC's earliest ongoing projects were relief in South Korea and the placement of Korean orphans, a medical and goods distribution centre in Miami in response to the large number of Cuban immigrants and refugees there, and Cuban immigrant/refugee resettlement work in the U.S.[754] As with the grounds of the initial establishment of CRWRC, these early works involved terms and modes of operation that would characterize the organization's work for the decades to come. In South Korea, at the time a developing country, CRWRC helped place over two thousand war orphans into Korean adoptive homes. Part of this program involved work in "overcoming cultural resistance to adoption," since "adoption outside of one's family was stigmatized" in Korean familial culture at that time.[755] This approach, of changing cultural mindsets and habits, continues to be part of World Renew's community development discourse as it speaks of "transformative development."

CRWRC's work in Miami demonstrates the responsive, contingent formation of the organization. It began when a couple who had been missionaries in Cuba in the late 1950s were unable to return there from the United States, following the Cuban Revolution, and so instead began to work in the Cuban immigrant community in Miami. They started with a church but soon realized the need for physical support as well, the "need to administer relief to the Christians whom our missionaries serve," for a holistic ministry of "word and deed." This series of events demonstrates the simultaneously theological and phenomenological roots of the "word and deed" principle in CRC ministries. In many cases, such as this one, it was seen only over time spent in missionary outreach that communities were in need of more sustenance than only spiritual. The emergence of material ministries developed contingent to the desire to spiritually minister. While World Renew today explicitly does *not* preach the gospel, this initial connection between evangelism and aid set the stage for twenty years of conflict between Christian Reformed World Missions (CRWM) and CRWRC, and continues to frame the terms by which World Renew must describe itself and its work to CRCNA constituents.

The initial 1962 CRWRC constitution reflects the theology of the CRC view of the source of poverty and suffering, and what the Christian response to that is (and, yes, it is one long

[754] Acts of Synod 1964. p.417

[755] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Finding Homes for War Orphans in Korea." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/finding-homes-war-orphans-korea> [Accessed 02 March, 2015]

sentence):

> WHEREAS our Saviour and Lord entrusted His people with the care of the poor of the world, and WHEREAS we live in a sin-distorted world in which severe misery and distress frequently occur, and WHEREAS the sacrifice of Christ was made for the redemption of the whole man, body and soul, and WHEREAS Christ has ordained that His church must be engaged in a ministry of mercy in deed, as well as in word, the Christian Reformed Church in humility and gratitude to God hereby establishes this Christian Reformed World Relief Committee to minister in the name of our Lord to man distressed by reason of the violence of nature, the carnage of war or other calamities of life, and to relieve the suffering of the needy of the world.[756]

The ultimate source of poverty, then, is sin; and the ultimate solution for poverty is the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. This sacrifice, until the final coming of the Kingdom of God, is to be brought into the world daily through the redemptive actions of Christians, demonstrating God's love and Kingdom in concrete ways.

In 1986 the constitution was reincarnated into the mandate of CRWRC as formulated under the umbrella of the Christian Reformed Board of World Ministries. This mandate declares that:

> It shall be the primary task of the World Relief Committee and Agency to promote the kingdom of God and demonstrate the gospel by administering the mercy of Jesus Christ to people in need everywhere, doing good 'to all people, especially those who belong to the family of believers.' The agency shall accompany this ministry with the presentation of the gospel of Jesus Christ and the call to Christian discipleship in the totality of human life; it shall effect this dimension of its task with the help of the World Missions Agency wherever possible.
>
> In addressing this task, the World Relief Committee and Agency shall have primary responsibility for those parts of the mission called emergency relief, diaconal development and need, and community development. This includes disaster relief, benevolence, training of deacons, health care, agricultural development, industrial development, literacy training, income generation, socio-economic aid, and the training of nationals for all of those.
>
> The agency-committee is the agent of the board to ensure that these responsibilities are exercised in keeping with the Word of God, the Reformed confessional standards, and the Church Order of the Christian Reformed Church.[757]

The 1986 mandate echoes the 1962 constitution with regard to the Christian response to suffering

[756] World Renew. From "History: World Renew from 'C' to Shining 'C'!" World Renew publications, 2013.

[757] Agenda for Synod 1986. "Study Committees – World Missions and Relief Commission: Report 37 (WMARC Final Report)." Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1986. p.467

in the world, but delineates much more specifically to which precise areas of that response the CRWRC is responsible, and how.

The role of Canada and Canadian CRCs in the development and work of CRWRC has been distinct from that of American CRCs. Over time, Canadian CRCs have come to be the predominant champions of CRWRC in the CRCNA, especially of its overseas and justice work, in comparison with American churches, but also strongly in the area of Disaster Response Services volunteering.

In 1959, three years before the establishment of CRWRC, the All Ontario Diaconal Conference (AODC) was established "with the intent of helping the churches have a greater global impact by working together to help neighbours next door, the destitute, the hungry, and the forgotten." When CRWRC was initiated in 1962, the AODC supported it with a project called Operation Manna, which "asked every Christian Reformed family in Ontario and Eastern Canada to donate one bag of... Bulgar wheat – ...about $3 – to help the hungry in Korea through CRWRC."

By 1969, "the support for CRWRC from CRCs across Canada was so strong that CRWRC decided to become officially incorporated in Canada" in addition to the US. In 1970 CRWRC was incorporated in Canada, which "allowed CRWRC to issue Canadian charitable receipts for income tax purposes. It also enabled CRWRC to apply for grants from the Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA]." It received its first grant from CIDA in 1976, in the amount of 3,800CAD.[758]

ii. Structure

The ecclesiastical governance structure of the CRCNA has three major assemblies: council, classis, and Synod. Church councils assist at the church level and are the assembly of the elders, deacons, and minister(s) of a congregation. Classes are regional, and Synod is the bi-national assembly of the entire CRCNA. Branched among these, below Synod, are all the other church bodies.[759] Councils and regional diaconal conferences, where they exist, report to classes, and classes report to Synod. "Synod meets annually in June with 188 delegates: two ministers and two elders from each classis. The tasks of Synod include responsibility for creeds, the Church

[758] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Ministry from the True North." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/ministry-true-north> [Accessed 02 March 2015]

[759] CRCNA. "Christian Reformed Church Governance." <http://www.crcna.org/welcome/christian-reformed-church-governance> [Accessed 02 March 2015]

Order, liturgical forms, hymnals, principles of worship, and moral/ethical positions. Synod also provides general oversight for the ministries undertaken jointly by CRC church," including CRWRC/World Renew.[760]

World Renew is an agency of the CRCNA[761] that reports to a Board of Trustees which in turn is responsible to Synod, also working collaboratively with it.[762] As will be seen in this chapter, despite World Renew's general operational independence, its fundamental attachment to the church and the oversight of Synod that this entails has had significant impact on the trajectories of CRWRC during the fifty-three years since its inauguration.

iii. Funding

Though World Renew is broadly responsible to Synod in terms of adhering to its constitution and mandate, and to the ministry goals of the CRC, the implementation of these things in the field is mostly left to the expertise and discretion of World Renew staff and directorate. In part, this liberty is due to a calculated choice to manage CRWRC's funding differently from the way that other CRCNA organizations do. Most formally affiliated organizations receive what are now called "ministry shares" and what used to be called "quota." The ministry shares system means basically that churches of the CRCNA are required to contribute (or do their best to contribute) a certain amount of money to the CRCNA's general fund and ministries, calculated annually on a *per capita* basis, to support the church's works of God in the world. Rather, then, than rely on the discretionary donations of individuals or councils, the CRCNA as a whole, through Synod, decides what it will fund, and then funds those things in unity.

CRWRC began and continues its life in the CRCNA as the sole agency which does not receive ministry shares. Whether or not it was the original intent, this status enables World Renew to respond to disasters and community needs in a timely manner, free of the slow bureaucracy of Synod which would be inappropriate for the type of work that World Renew does. It also means, however, that World Renew is responsible for finding all of its own funding. After fifty years in the field, its annual budget is now in the tens of millions of US dollars.

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[760] Ibid.

[761] The World Renew governance structure "is made up of delegates [deacons] from the classes, in addition to up to twenty-seven members-at-large [also deacons], which constitute the Board of Delegates of CRWRC. The delegates... select seven-member national boards for both the U.S. and Canada. The two boards together form the fourteen-member Joint Ministry Council, which provides governance for [World Renew] as a whole." (Agenda for Synod 2008. "Unified Report of Agencies and Service Committees: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2008. p.135)

[762] CRCNA. "Board of Trustees." <https://www.crcna.org/welcome/christian-reformed-church-governance/board-trustees> [Accessed 03 May 2016]

In 2015 (the most recent fiscal year information available at this time) World Renew received a total of approximately 34.8 million USD from all sources. It received 22 million USD from churches and individual donors, which was then leveraged as much as possible through grant partnerships and other collaborations.[763] Within this, close to 11 million CAD came from Canadian churches and individuals and another 14.5 million CAD from Canadian granting agencies (vs. about 800,000 USD from US grants). Half of the 14.5 million CAD in grants came through the Canadian Foodgrains Bank,[764] a partnership of fifteen Canadian church-based relief agencies (incorporating thirty-two Canadian denominations) "working together to end global hunger."[765] Funding received through the Canadian Foodgrains Bank (CFGB), "one of two primary channels for the Government of Canada's funding for food aid,"[766] is key to World Renew's income for its International Disaster Response programs.

An important part of fundraising by, especially, farmers in Alberta and Ontario, is CFGB's partnership with the Government of Canada through CIDA (as of 2013 subsumed into the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development, now Global Affairs). Since 1983, the Government of Canada has supported the work of CFGB member agencies by matching CFGB funds that have been designated to relief projects through the CFGB's member granting scheme. The matching is at a ratio of 4:1, to a maximum of twenty-five million CAD per annum. The matching program is a very strong motivator for people, especially in the CRC, to support World Renew by route of the CFGB.

One of the major ways that people raise funds to donate to CFGB is through "Grow Projects," of which there are currently over two hundred in North America. Grow Projects are endeavors wherein "groups of people plant, tend and harvest a crop, then sell it... . Proceeds from the sale of the crop are then donated to the Foodgrains Bank."[767]

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[763] Agenda for Synod 2016. "Report of Agencies, Institutions, and Ministries: World Renew." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2016. p.219

[764] World Renew. "How Funds Are Spent." <worldrenew.net/money> [Accessed 03 May 2016]

[765] Canadian Foodgrains Bank. "About Us." <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/about-us/> [Accessed 02 March 2015]
Supplementary information from interview with Terrence Barg and André Visscher, CFGB representatives in Alberta.

[766] Canadian Foodgrains Bank. "Partnership with the Government of Canada." <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/about-us/partnership-with-the-government-of-canada/> [Accessed 02 March 2015]

[767] Canadian Foodgrains Bank. "Growing & Community Projects." <http://foodgrainsbank.ca/get-involved/growing-projects/> [Accessed 02 March 2015]
"Local businesses often help by donating inputs such as seed, chemicals and fertilizer, and services such as trucking, insurance or promotion. … wheat, canola, corn, barley, soybeans, lentils, flax, forage, silage and pumpkins are some of the crops grown to raise money for the Foodgrains Bank." There are also dairy, beef, and

World Renew also gets funds from agreements with large outside donors such as USAID and the EU. These can be more difficult to manage as they tend to come conditionally, with guidelines stemming from trends in development theory among global aid bodies (especially the UN), as well as political goals. Such donor strictures form another set of parameters with which, as will be seen in chapter eight, World Renew must also contend as it formulates its actions in the field.

iv. Work

When CRWRC began it had one committee of volunteers, one part-time staff member, a director, and no overseas programs (it worked in Korea through another organization, the Christian Adoption Program of Korea). Two years later it had an agricultural program in Korea and a small loans program. Today, it works in forty countries, serving 838,298 people in 1,841 communities.[768]

Interviews with CRC members in Alberta showed that World Renew is most known by its response to disasters in Canada and the U.S., and then secondarily its responses to major disasters abroad. In North America, World Renew's disaster response work is done mainly through the work of Disaster Response Services (DRS) volunteers, or "The Green Shirts" (because the uniform is a bright green World Renew "DRS" t-shirt). This program of recruiting and training CRCNA volunteers to respond to disasters began in 1972 as a somewhat more specialized type of volunteer work, but has since expanded to utilize especially the widely available general clean-up and construction skills of, mostly, able-bodied retirees.[769] It is now one of World Renew's major volunteer initiatives.

In the United States, DRS "is so well-known and respected [that] the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) typically recommends that one of the first steps for a community to take in its recovery is to call in a CRWRC needs assessment team."[770] Abroad, "World Renew's

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pork Grow Projects, in which a group of people pays collectively for the production of the milk or raising of the animal, and buyers (or bidders, at auction) pay more, with the knowledge that proceeds go to the CFGB.
World Renew. "Canadian Farmers Feeding Families." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/canadian-farmers-feeding-families> [Accessed 03 March 2015]
Involvement with Grow Projects is not limited to CRCNA members or even to Christians. Farmers from different churches and from the community at large participate. Sometimes, according to Bruce Warkentin, a member of the Evangelical Free Church in Taber, Alberta, and part of the board of the Taber and Area Grow Project, participating farmers aren't even aware that the fundraising is for a church-based organization at all.

[768] Agenda for Synod 2016. p.219

[769] World Renew. "History: World Renew from 'C' to Shining 'C'!"

[770] Agenda for Synod 2008. p.140

work spans immediate disaster response (providing emergency food, water, shelter, and access to medical care and counseling) as well as rehabilitation activities such as distributing seeds, tools, and livestock, and providing small loans and training to enhance peoples' livelihoods."[771] In its overseas relief programming World Renew relies little on volunteers. It will perhaps send a pair of International Relief Managers to take care of office work, church liaising and bureaucratic necessities, but works for the most part through local partners. These are often the same local partners with whom it is in longer term community development partnerships, since the countries where these types of partnerships are located tend to be fragile in many parts, and vulnerable to disasters.

World Renew's community development work covers a wide range of activities. In Kenya alone it has programs aimed at HIV/AIDS (education, prevention, and destigmatization, as well as incorporating people living with or affected by HIV/AIDS into food, business and other wellness programming), church mobilization, creation care (environmental stewardship education), agricultural and nutritional training, gender justice (rights education and awareness), small business, small animal husbandry and marketing (chickens, pork, rabbits), water initiatives (sand dams, boreholes, water pans) community health initiatives, and a "deep democracy" peace-keeping program. As with complex and overlapping causes and symptoms of poverty, so do the programs seek to address poverty complexly and with overlapping, mutually reinforcing parts and objectives. AIDS programming, for example, reaches out to persons living with HIV/AIDS, to caregivers, to children and youth-at-risk, to communities, and to churches. Where needed and appropriate it helps people with treatment and livelihoods, e.g. through agricultural and vocational training, and nutritional education; it educates people on how HIV/AIDS works, informing to prevent and destigmatize, while simultaneously empowering people with the vocabulary to communicate in their relationships about sexual and reproductive choices, an ability that is connected to gender and women's issues. In this way, too, World Renew meets its objective of strengthening the global church, as it empowers people to be able to minister in body and spirit to neighbours within their communities around the world.

Finally, World Renew's advocacy work takes shape in two main stages. Finding information on and appropriate responses to social justice issues is the first stage, which it

[771] Agenda for Synod 2013. "Agencies, Institutions, and Ministries: World Renew." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America., 2013. p.179

accomplishes in cooperation with the CRCNA's Office of Social Justice.[772] The second, main, aspect of World Renew's advocacy role is to reach out "to people in North America and around the world in an effort to connect them to ministry, deepen their understanding of global issues, and encourage them to act and advocate on behalf of those in need."[773] It is through this advocacy role that World Renew meets its mandate to "engage God's people" (beyond activating their wallets) toward holistic understanding and enactment of the diaconal calling addressed to the whole church.

Over the course of its history, and especially since the early 1990s, for reasons discussed in Part III, World Renew has developed a number of programs designed to educate and engage the CRC constituency while still meeting high standards of efficiency and efficacy in its worldwide relief and development projects. In Canada, for example, "World Renew is one of about 80 organizations that have been granted a sponsorship agreement by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which allows it to work with churches to sponsor refugees."[774] In 1992 World Renew began two of its now core programs: Partners Worldwide and Free A Family. Both of these are high quality aid programs designed to edify the CRCNA constituency by connecting them with people in need and with sustainable ways to help. Partners Worldwide, a program that accesses the business acumen and expertise of North Americans, "connect[s] the rich and poor directly in partnerships so that the lives of everyone will be transformed."[775] Free A Family, which raises funds for community development through the ongoing stories of twenty-eight representative families from different parts of the world, "allows supporters a personal connection, yet directs as much money as possible toward community programs." Free A Family currently aids about four thousand families.[776] In 2007 the launch of EmbraceAIDS, World Renew's education and fundraising program, combined advocacy with constituent awareness

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[772] Christian Reformed Church Office of Social Justice. <http://www2.crcna.org/pages/justice.cfm> [Accessed 03 March 2015]

[773] World Renew. "About Us."

[774] Agenda for Synod 2014. "Unified Report of Agencies, Institutions and Specialized Ministries: World Renew." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2014. pp.214-15

[775] World Renew. "Business as Ministry for a World without Poverty: The Story of Partners Worldwide." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/business-ministry-world-without-poverty-story-partners-worldwide> [Accessed 03 March 2015]

[776] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "20 Years of Freeing Families from Poverty." *The Banner.* Associated Church Press; Evangelical Church Press: Faith Alive Christian Resources. October 2011. <http://www.thebanner.org/together/2011/09/20-years-of-freeing-families-from-poverty> [Accessed 03 March 2015]
Free A Family is also considered the (more reliable and efficient) World Renew alternative to child sponsorship.

work. Postcards detailing HIV/AIDS-related issues and information were distributed to CRC churches. By asking constituents to advocate by mailing the postcards to their Prime Minister or President, World Renew connected the churches of the CRCNA with the same information and request to act that the postcards asked of the leaders. Further, EmbraceAIDS is the name of the HIV/AIDS programs that World Renew supports in Kenya and other places, and so constituents were at the same time informed about the importance of these projects.

World Renew also utilizes as much volunteer work as it responsibly can. In Canada, volunteers are facilitated through the CRC's ServiceLink. Volunteer work is generally short term, from one to three weeks, with the exception of International Relief Managers (IRMs), who volunteer for several months. Volunteers "come from church groups (both youth groups and skilled adult groups) as well as colleges, businesses, and families. They typically work for one week, doing a variety of cleanup and reconstruction jobs, depending on the volunteer's skill level and the needs on a particular work site."[777] Many volunteers work with World Renew's DRS teams, in North America especially, but others travel "to countries such as Honduras, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Romania and Uganda." [778] Through facilitating volunteers, and through its development, relief, and advocacy strategy and implementation, World Renew combines theological and social demands from the church with effective aid theory and praxis.

v. Strategy: Transformation

The notion of "transformation" is key to World Renew's integrated faith and development approach. Stephan Lutz, Program Consultant for World Renew in Kenya, explained that World Renew focuses "on two areas where they want to see growth, globally." Community transformation is one of them, and they partner with domestic church organizations like ADS so that these organizations "can facilitate processes for communities to be transformed. That's very key. The other one is constituency transformation, which involves educating and engaging North American constituencies." Lutz explained the notion of transformation as:

> a positive change. When we talk about the transformed communities, in CRWRC, we talk about communities who are, for example, [making] plans for their own community. And not only setting these plans, but also starting to work on these plans themselves. … Or they start healing – working with people who are most poor, and including them in their circles. Working on ethnic issues, with conflict. There's a healing element... an ownership... a sustainability. I see transformation

[777] Agenda for Synod 2014. p.216
[778] Agenda for Synod 2008. p.145

> more as a process than a product. ...it's overall positive change... in a very holistic way.

World Renew describes its community development programs as aiming "to help people for the long term by first assessing their assets (e.g. their God-given talents and the resources in their communities) and then helping them to build on those assets to create positive change," beginning with their "greatest needs first. [...] An essential component of this ministry is partnership [wherein] World Renew seeks to come alongside a local church or community organization. It then equips these local leaders to become an enduring presence at the community level and trains them to strengthen their own organizations and carry out effective programs."[779]

The strategy for achieving these objectives is detailed in the 1997 handbook, *Partnering to Build and Measure Organizational Capacity*.[780] Two broad themes cut through the handbook: first, that World Renew's approach prioritizes organizational capacity building in local partner NGOs (not, of course, to the exclusion of other concerns). This approach is intended to ensure project ownership and (thus) longevity and sustainability. The second cross-cutting theme is the reform of inter-organizational models and assumptions, from frameworks like "donor-->recipient" or "North-->South," etc., to "increased mutuality," and relational processes like mutual accountability, aka "partnership."[781] Linking these two priorities, organizational capacity building and partnering, is the strategy of Appreciative Inquiry.

The goal of organizational capacity building is fairly straightforward and mainly demands an explanation of "capacity." A word that tends to be used tautologically, capacity (in words that are not "capacity") involves a number of states and processes, for example the ability to build and plan for the future, based on reasonable hopes; being able to identify and meet new challenges and conditions, that is, be responsive and flexible; and having the tools with which to put such abilities into practice.[782] "Capacity building," states the handbook, "is learning how to expand and develop beyond where you are and to progress toward a vision."[783]

In her discussion of development goals, Martha Nussbaum helpfully qualifies this view of

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[779] Agenda for Synod 2014. p.208

[780] Johnson, Scott, and James D. Ludema (eds.) Partnering to Build and Measure Organizational Capacity: Lessons from NGOs Around the World. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee, 1997. (Produced by CRWRC in collaboration with Case Western Reserve University and the SIGMA Center at the Weatherhead School of Management.)

[781] CRWRC's shift to the partnership model began in Latin America in the 1970s, but has been a work in progress over the years.

[782] Johnson and Ludema, 94

[783] Ibid., 29

capacity by tying it to "capability," which she defines in simple terms as "what people [or organizations] are actually able to do and to be."[784] Not, then, what an organization or person or group has the potential for, but rather its "true functioning" [785] given the realities of all contingencies and opportunities bearing on it. The World Renew handbook confirms this perspective, giving the example that "most organizational development models and organizational capacity measurement systems focus on... the tangible things that can be seen and measured in the organizations, [such as] information systems, structures, technology and financial systems"; however, this approach is insufficient because capacity is also influenced by intangibles, like "cultural factors, the values that govern an organization from within, the sources of motivation and commitment that compel the members of the organization to go the extra mile. Organizational capacity systems must allow the building and measuring of value-based factors as well as technical factors."[786]

So, organizational capacity building is the optimization of the true functioning of organizations that World Renew works with and through, in developing countries. Evaluation of this is done using Organizational Capacity Indicators (OCI). The OCI system, previously called the SRS (Skills Rating Scale), is "designed to assess the strength of partner organizations in five key skill areas: technical, financial, managerial, governance, and – consistent with its religious affiliation – holistic ministry." OCI is premised "on the belief that local organizations are the best executors of local development and that the role of northern NGOs ought to be to provide management consultation and training to local organizations to enhance their capacity."[787]

One of the main tools employed in World Renew's OCI identification strategy is "Appreciative Inquiry." Appreciative Inquiry is sometimes also called "asset identification." This is a process of, before embarking on any program outline or implementation, appraising what a community or organization *has* versus beginning with an assessment of what it *lacks*. By identifying what exists, a community or organization can develop realistic plans that employ resources already available. In this way, necessary materials are readily accessible rather than supplied by an outside, potentially unreliable, source. This, in turn, allows a community or organization to cultivate ownership and avoid dependency.

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[784] Nussbaum, Martha C. Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000. p.5
[785] Ibid., 6
[786] Johnson and Ludema, 29-30
[787] Ibid., 9 (both quotes this paragraph)

Appreciative Inquiry, moreover, "helps people to think about the good that has happened in the past so that they have concrete ideas about what can happen in the future. It makes creativity a concrete asset by freeing people from the risks involved in the vulnerability of creativity. Rather than plans that are idealistic wishes, people have tangible plans for a future within the reach of their own experiences."[788] We see here awareness of the issue of risk, discussed in chapter six. By helping to rearrange the way they understand their current situation, Appreciative Inquiry helps people to overcome the poverty-based rationale behind low risk but also low benefit or high inefficiency behavior. This can also help to overcome defeatist or fatalistic thought patterns that may have set in.

Improving organizational capacity benefits from and contributes to the asset of healthy organizational relationships among staff, and between staff and the communities they work with. "Organizational capacity," posits World Renew, "does not exist in the organization – rather, it grows in the network of personal committed relationships between staff, board, villages, and other NGOs. A development organization's capacity is built on the community it is able to build" (for better and for worse).[789] This relational basis of an organization's capacity contributes to the sustainability of the organization and its work.

In light of this, the second major development model that World Renew uses is a relational approach in the form of partnerships with the local NGOs that they work through in the field. This method, especially when World Renew started to implement it, was a strong departure from the international development community's traditional view of capacity-building, which had long been defined "in distinctly asymmetrical terms." Partnering was a paradigm shift: from "donor-recipient" or "North-South," to "increased mutuality"; from "supply and receipt" to "process"; from "pater" to "partner."[790] A partnership is, itself, a capacity-building medium, a culture for improving and discovering capacities through "dialogue, learning and nurture... trust, loyalty, and... commitment."[791] The work of partnership is mutual in the sense that, rather than a top-down, outside-in, cookie cutter approach, capacity-building and measuring are undertaken in

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[788] Ibid., 80. Johnson and Ludema credit Cooperider and Srivastva as originating the Appreciative Inquiry approach employed in the Handbook. p.20
(Cooperrider, David L. and Suresh Srivastva. Appreciative Management and Leadership: The Power of Positive Thought and Action in Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990.)

[789] Johnson and Ludema, 43.

[790] Ibid., 9, 29

[791] Ibid., 43

a responsive, flexible fashion, wherein all partners both teach and learn.[792] In this way a mutual accountability and mutual trust emerge, and an environment is created where transformative development can occur – that which challenges the assumptions and habits of organizations, communities, and individuals on all sides.

Organizational capacity, then, in the relational, partnering approach, becomes "an essentially inter-organizational construct, a condition that occurs when organizations enter into mutually edifying relationship with one another to strengthen each other and to carry out their respective missions in the world more effectively. This kind of transformative growth and development flourishes most fully in relationships between equals." Such partnerships have had an effect on leadership styles in Western organizations, toward more fluidity, contextuality, and collectivity, "based on values more prevalent in non-Western cultures [such as] a higher value on community" and less value on the individual. It is posited that the shift to the mutuality and partnership model will result in more and better experience-based sustainability and innovation "as the number of North-South and South-South partnerships multiply and... become proactive about inter-organizational learning."[793]

Through the development of organizational capacity and partnership, World Renew seeks to increase ways that communities can be transformed, both materially and spiritually. In part, transformation involves a changing of mind and culturally-received outlook. This can occur in a change of leadership styles, as mentioned above, as well as at the community level, abroad or at home. World Renew's website shares several stories of such change. "Lessons Learned in Agua Caliente" states that community transformation is all about "helping community members to recognize their own value as God's image bearers and their own abilities to work for change, and then equipping them to carry out these changes in a way that can stand the test of time."[794] In Cambodia, World Renew has worked to improve the organizational capacity of churches by "changing cultural habits of perception" from seeing churches as "places where one simply prays or brings an offering, to [seeing them as] centres of community and togetherness, of trust and relationship."[795] World Renew's EmbraceAIDS program, too, has been a project of cultural and

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[792] Ibid., 34, 35
[793] Ibid., 28, 55 (box), 58, 61
[794] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Lessons Learned in Agua Caliente." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/lessons-learned-agua-caliente> [Accessed 04 March 2015]
[795] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Equipping the Cambodian Church to Make a Difference." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/equipping-cambodian-church-make-difference> [Accessed 04

spiritual transformation, among Christians at home and abroad: "Only two decades ago, many churches shied away from talking about [HIV/AIDS] and shunned those who were sick and dying. Changing the mindset has been a key part of CRWRC's ministry."[796] Changing mindsets, then, is not only a goal of relational strategy with partners and participants, but also among constituents at home.

As explained in chapter four, in the CRC view of development, transformation is equivalent to reconciliation ("shalom"), which reconciliation of necessity involves the realization (in both senses of the term) that "every square inch" belongs to God, in other words that there is an underlying unity in the world because it is God's world, and one can either live one's life in consciousness of that or in ignorance of it. The former will lead to harmonious living, and the latter to discord. Transformation, then, is the (ongoing) realization – movement toward – the articulation in word, deed, materiality, and spirituality – of this godliness. In more insider terms: "Communities and constituencies undergo transformation when members are increasingly able to embrace and live out their calling as human beings bearing the image of God, marred by sin but being restored in Christ Jesus, receiving and expressing justice and mercy and peace, as evidenced in healthy (Shalom) relationships with God, neighbour, self and the creation."[797]

Transformational change as described by Lutz is sought and achieved not only because organizational capacity building, partnership, and appreciative inquiry organically lend themselves to that; but also because transformational development is the biblical, theological, Kuyperian worldview underlying Christian Reformed endeavors as a rule. In other words, World Renew's development strategy is not only contingently transformational, but also stems from transformation, that is, reconciliation, as the ultimate goal of the CRC's ministry in the world. This is World Renew's development theology, an underlying and motivating worldview and principle that distinguishes it from other NGOs, faith-based and secular. The transformation, or reconciliation, paradigm and the CRCNA lifeworld with its characteristic fault lines and flashpoints, have been indelible influences on the emergence of CRWRC as a fledgling initiative, and over time as it has grown into a potent aid organization.

March 2015]

[796] World Renew. "Equipping the Global Church to Fight AIDS." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/equipping-global-church-fight-aids> [Accessed 05 March 2015]

[797] World Renew. "Foundational Statements." <http://worldrenew.net/sites/default/files/resources/WorldRenewFoundationalStatements_1.pdf> [Accessed 05 March 2015]

II. World Renew in Kenya

I provide here a brief history of World Renew's presence in Kenya and, though much of what World Renew does in Kenya is covered in chapter six's descriptions of the work of ADS, I also include here an overview of the programs with which it is specifically involved in this country.

Though CRWRC provided emergency relief in the Sahel as early as 1973,[798] its long-term presence in Kenya began when Kenya experienced a severe drought. That year, 1984, CRWRC came with food aid, and the following year "provided seeds to 5200 families on time to take advantage of the mid-March rains so that farmers could once again provide for families on their own."[799] World Renew has now been in Kenya for over thirty years. While some parts of the country need emergency relief on a regular basis, World Renew works in other parts of the country on establishing sustainable community development measures. In 1983-84 CRWRC also provided management and seed money to help "an organization called International Christian Rehabilitation to develop an income generation project in slum areas of Nairobi,"[800] but its current projects are all rural and village-based. World Renew's main church partner in Kenya is the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), of which the development arm is Anglican Development Services (ADS). Though World Renew has engaged with the Reformed Church of East Africa (RCEA) from time to time, the Anglican Church is much more widespread and powerful than is the RCEA in Kenya, making ADS much more equal to the work of partnering.

In recent years Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) programs have been initiated to establish sustainable disaster recovery measures. These aim to mitigate vulnerability to threats like drought or floods, making disasters less disastrous over time. Water pans to capture the water from flash storms in arid regions are one such measure, which provides some drinking and irrigation water to mitigate the regular droughts. In the long term, new plant life in the soil near the pans will help the ground to absorb water when it rains, diminishing soil erosion, reducing flash floods, and slowly increasing fertility in the region.

During my fieldwork, World Renew's ongoing projects were in Mount Kenya East and

[798] Acts of Synod 1974. "Supplement: Report 6 – Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (Arts. 48, 77)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1974. pp.292, 296

[799] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "A Two-Pronged Approach: Disaster Response and Development in Kenya." <http://www.worldrenew.net/our-stories/two-pronged-approach-disaster-response-and-development-kenya> [Accessed 03 March 2015]; see also Acts of Synod 1983. "Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1983. p.106

[800] Acts of Synod 1984. "Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (Art. 112)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1984. p.129

Mount Kenya regions. They had recently removed themselves from direct involvement with projects in Western Region, where World Renew programming had matured. Western, Mount Kenya, and Mount Kenya East were the three regions in which I spent the majority of my time, but I also had the opportunity to see World Renew projects in Coast Province and in the North-West area of Turkana-Pokot. I include descriptions of World Renew's work in these latter two areas as well, even though my time with the staff and community members involved was short.

i. Western Region

Western Region Christian Community Services (WRCCS; now WRADS) was one of the first CCS regions formed in Kenya. WRCCS began in 1990 when Davis Omanyo, a senior CRWRC staff member, was asked to facilitate six bishops coming together to form a development organization. Because development needs vary significantly with geography, he organized the collaboration into the four zones which remain today: Eastern, Sugarbelt, Mountain, and Lake. Two or three bishops thus overlapped in responsibility for each zone, a set-up which helps prevent misuse of authority or funds. Funds from several outside donors were then used to form Village-Based Development Initiatives (VBDI). Through these, villagers were trained in agriculture, health, water, etc. Omanyo also hired technical advisers for each type of development work in the region, and formed a board of directors comprised of the six bishops plus lay persons (elders and professionals), including at least four women. This set-up also continues today. Following Omanyo's groundwork, CRWRC was able to build the capacity of WRCCS to mobilize internal and external resources, for technical and financial assistance. This relationship lasted twenty years.

World Renew's official, financial relationship with WRADS ended shortly before my 2012 research trip, but the organizations remain in contact in a friendly, advisory capacity. Western, for instance, will often host visitors from World Renew so that they can see well-established programming that World Renew supported for a long time (versus the, so far, much shorter periods of support in other areas). Financial support to Western from World Renew was ended because WRADS was becoming self-sustaining. It receives funding from a number of other donors and so is quite financially secure, with strong organizational capacity and the ability to maintain its own momentum into the future. In light of WRADS's strengths, World Renew decided that its funds could be more effectively used elsewhere in Kenya. It has since begun to explore the possibility of a new partnership, with Nakuru diocese ADS.

Unfortunately, though the staff and leadership of WRADS have great respect and gratitude for World Renew, there remains a sense in Western that World Renew left too soon; that they exited the partnership just as Western was on the verge of a new, even stronger organizational phase. Omanyo blames this feeling, of which World Renew is well aware, on the failure to establish strong boundaries and definite timelines when the relationship first began. It is a mistake, he said, that was also made elsewhere, and so it remains to be seen how future phase-outs will go in those other regions. The nature of World Renew's early relationship with Western stemmed in part from its early style of work in Kenya, which Country Director Fred Witteveen (who has since my interview moved on to work with a different NGO) described as "fast and loose." Since that time World Renew has worked hard to become highly disciplined and organized, changing its presence to that of a cohesive institution, rather than individuals at various places.

In newer programs and relationships, timelines are now carefully delineated at the start. Though these restrictions may be experienced by some as a constraint on long-term planning and financial security, such transparency is considered more mutually respectful. World Renew also tries to mitigate possible difficulties of shorter-term, piecemeal planning by funding Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs) to be conducted by field staff prior to submitting program funding requests, so that they can be sure to be making their best request. This helps activate programs in a timely and efficient manner.

ii. Mount Kenya East Region

ADS Mount Kenya East (MKE) stretches from the centre to the north of the country. Though MKE is large, with many dioceses, World Renew's work here is unified by the aridity that is found throughout, with somewhat manageable levels in southern areas quickly shifting to extreme heat and desert climates in the more northern parts. In this region, therefore, World Renew supports and runs both relief and development programs with, in some areas, development programs following on the heels of disaster response (this is World Renew's standard disaster response model). In 2010, for example, World Renew organized drought relief in the form of food distribution for eight communities in the areas of Isiolo, Narok, and Kajiado.[801] This was implemented in cooperation with Nazarene Compassionate Ministries Kenya and the ACK, with most of the funding coming from the Canadian Foodgrains Bank. This

[801] Isiolo is the only one of these in the ADSMKE region.

food relief was followed by a goat-restocking project, which is also part of food security programs that CFGB funds.[802]

In other parts of MKE region World Renew, through ADS, supports "Water for Goats" incentive and ownership programs. Water for Goats is intended to create a source of water in arid zones and to encourage people to keep dairy goats for small agribusiness as well as a supply of nutritious and affordable milk for the home. In this program, if a CBO (community-based organization) digs a water pan then they (each member) will receive (one) dairy goats from World Renew. ADS provides a water engineer to help locate a suitable digging place, and this person returns frequently to the site to encourage the group and provide any guidance needed. Once the pan is dug, each community member is provided with a female goat, and a male is also provided to share. With the water pan dug, there is meant to be plenty of water to keep the goats alive, and the billy goat ensures milk and also the increase of the herd.

The project of digging a water pan, using hand tools and wheelbarrows, often in hard, rocky ground and in scorching heat, is extremely difficult. It is labour intensive, takes a long time, and has slowly increasing rewards over years of digging. The people who dig (mostly women, but some men) add a schedule of several hours of digging several times a week to their already packed schedule of hard work, with faith that the rewards – closer water supply and a dairy goat, better crops or vegetables, more well-nourished children, and the possibility of earning extra income – are not only worth it but will actually come. World Renew's and ADS's task is to fulfill their side of the bargain and help motivate the CBOs. They do not help with the digging itself because part of this program is the creation of ownership, which leads to sustainability, dignity, and a decrease (or avoidance) of dependency. World Renew tries to ensure that the goats it provides are initially viable, sending veterinarians to vaccinate, de-worm, and generally make sure that, health-wise, the dairy goats program can succeed.

In Iria Itune, in Mbeere District near Kirinyaga, I accompanied David Njoka and Julius Kalu of World Renew for vaccinations and de-worming of dairy goats distributed to six hundred people as part of a Water for Goats program. In this area, the program was part of ongoing post-drought Disaster Risk Reduction programming. De-worming and vaccinating the goats was part

[802] As part of its relief programming World Renew will also do one-time supplies of various other goods. E.g. in February 2012 it supplied livestock feed to communities in Isiolo [Patrick Kibe interview]. I was also present at a meat distribution relief project at an Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camp in Chumvi, near Isiolo. This was not done through ADS, though, nor in conjunction with a development project.

of the DRR, facets of a sustainable civic and agricultural education: creating awareness of necessary processes for animal care while at the same time putting people into contact with local structures and services that can help them maintain momentum once World Renew is gone.

Though the projects I saw in MKE were all water pan sites and dairy goat keeping, staff in several interviews mentioned that World Renew has also done a number of other types of agribusiness incentive and training in conjunction with the water pans. In some areas they have donated fruit trees, to be looked after with the benefit of the water pan; they also educated and encouraged about the planting of certain grasses, e.g. Boma Rhodes, that grow well in arid regions, helping prevent soil erosion and providing fodder for animals. Poultry rearing, too, has been taught in conjunction with DRR training in some communities that were also digging water pans. The variety of available options is part of World Renew's flexibility and close involvement with their programs. Though they have expert opinions they also listen, which allows communities to be part of the design of programs to which they commit.

iii. Mount Kenya Region

As elsewhere, ADS Mount Kenya's development programs are integrated and holistic, meaning no piece of the development picture is truly discrete from the rest, even if funded as such. Most of World Renew's direct involvement with ADSMK has been through their HIV/AIDS awareness and sensitivity training, and related Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) programs. Mount Kenya uses World Renew's Embrace AIDS programming, which is related to the Stepping Stones counseling and training program that Mount Kenya also uses. EmbraceAIDS "cares for AIDS orphans, counsels people with HIV as well as communities living with HIV-positive community members, and educates about 'abstinence, behavior change, and faithfulness.'" [803] Together, Stepping Stones and Embrace AIDS aim to change peoples' mindsets about sex practices and about HIV/AIDS, while also offering practical assistance through material development programming aimed especially at people affected by HIV/AIDS.

Stepping Stones helps people come to terms with living with people with HIV, so that they are not ostracized from their communities. At the same time, the program helps people learn to vocalize and work through many issues that can pose obstacles, be that poverty, HIV, CBO or SHG disunity, marital discord, teen sexuality, or sexual rights. Stepping Stones cultivates listening and communication skills, encouraging people to practice focus and planning in their

[803] Agenda for Synod 2013. p.176

lives. People who participated in the program described how it had improved their relationships and instilled a sense of order and capability in their lives.[804]

Also important to World Renew's relationship with ADSMK is World Renew's role as intermediary between Mount Kenya and new partners, partners who may perhaps take over where World Renew leaves off, or partners that offer different types of support and expertise than World Renew. For instance, World Renew connected Mount Kenya with CFGB, so that they could begin food security initiatives in the region. Mount Kenya's contracts with World Renew are generally for programs between three and five years, with options to renew, but networking is a benefit of the relationship that can surpass limited agreements.

iv. Coast

World Renew's main partner in Coast Province is Pwani ADS. During this short trip we visited projects in Mwatate, Bamba, and Kilifi, and attended a CBO members' meeting. At the time of this visit World Renew had been working with these communities via Pwani CCS for eleven years. In Mwatate, World Renew had helped the community refurbish an abandoned World Bank borehole project, re-appropriating the iron pipes and collection tank, and fitting the borehole with an electric pump. A CFGB food project was also planned for the area, to begin in September 2012. In Kilifi we visited a water pan that was around four years old. Through persistent digging each time the water from the rainy season had been used up, the pan was already very large. The community group that worked on this water pan had begun to dig other, smaller, pans as well, with the support of World Renew.

In Bamba a community representative committee presented a report to World Renew and ADS staff on the progress and decisions they had made since recently embarking on the PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) process. They had so far completed the steps of asset recognition, understanding the importance of teamwork, drawing a resource map, and identifying historical and characteristic problems of the village. The PRA process is a learning tool in itself – working through the steps to qualify for assistance from World Renew and ADS is already a practice of community learning and development.

The committee of youths, adults, women, men, Muslims, and Christians, with advice from village elders, had completed an action plan which they had presented to the community so that it

[804] Also in conjunction with Embrace AIDS have been door-to-door VCT (Voluntary Counseling and Testing) initiatives, and "Girl/Boy Power Initiative Clubs," which are basically Stepping Stones for kids, offered through schools.

became a Community Action Plan. The goals of the Plan were to have fifty to eighty-six farm households become food secure and self-sufficient within five years; to have all eighty-six households in the community equipped with a latrine and no longer urinating or excreting outdoors (this would also help keep surface water safer); to improve education practices and staunch the decrease in school attendance; to end the cutting down of trees for charcoal and encourage reforestation and agribusiness or forestry; and to establish a good road, connecting their village with another one nearby.

World Renew staff gave feedback in the forms of encouragement and constructive criticism, for example reminding the community to reduce dependence on maize, and to diversify their crops. They asked how, once the latrines were there, the committee planned to get people to use them rather than urinate and defecate outside, and what indicators they would use to measure improved education.

The committee had answers ready for many of these questions: a competition among villages to encourage latrine use; a 2017 goal of every person being able to sign his or her own name, rather than using a thumbprint. By the end of the meeting, members looked a mixture of determined, humorously sheepish about some areas (mostly their preference for maize), and encouraged. The meeting was clearly important to them, an opportunity to shine, to tally their progress and have it recognized and valued by people who understand and appreciate what they are doing, where they had begun, and where they wanted to arrive. Although, through ADS, World Renew also provides expertise, subsidized supplies, and incentives (like goats) when necessary, clearly this type of expert interaction – the time it takes, the traveling eleven hours one way by vehicle from Nairobi; that is, the person-to-person relationship part of their work – is of great value to the communities that choose to dedicate themselves to the hard work of partnering with ADS. If the abandoned World Bank borehole site versus the invigorated multi-faceted self-help work happening in Mwatate, Bamba, and Kilifi can be taken as evidence, the hands-off, "coming alongside" approach of World Renew and ADS is truly effective.

v. Turkana

Though World Renew also does conflict resolution and small business / agricultural management training with groups in this area, the groups that we met with on this trip were all focused on water. The Marich Pass Community Water Points Project progress meeting took place about one year after World Renew had done a needs assessment conferral with communities in the area and

found that their primary need was proximate water for livestock, crop, and household use. In response to this need World Renew dug a borehole and provided a 30,000L tank, from which water is now piped to five different communities. Decisions on location and access points were made by the community, and the water project was completed and handed over in June 2012. The committee is now in charge of maintaining the water project, by establishing and levying small usage fees and making sure those funds are used appropriately. Because of the new water availability, quality of life in the community is expected to rise, with better health, better crops, more time, and more opportunity to do income-generating activities such as tree nurseries, small animal husbandry, and sale of other diverse produce.

While the community was overall very satisfied with the way and degree that World Renew had included them in the process, there were some aspects that they thought could have yet been done even more locally, such as the building of fences around boreholes, for which community members said local contractors could have been used. Some of the technical training, too, they wished had begun closer to the beginning of the project, as they now felt somewhat at loose ends with regard to the functioning and upkeep of the boreholes, and what steps they would take next. While these critical requests for increased ownership seem to point to flaws in the partnership process, they can also be read as a sort of impatience that can only come from a feeling of confidence in one's capabilities and a forward-looking vision, as well as security in the willingness and ability of World Renew to continue in good relations with them, since World Renew staff were part of the meeting in which these critiques were raised.

In Kakong and Kalimorok we met with water committees as well. World Renew was not the first organization to try to help Kakong with their water; several other boreholes in the area had been abandoned partway through because contractors were only finding mud. Even World Renew had had to find a second water surveyor, to keep trying when the first had failed to find water. Finally, the Kakong borehole and pipes project began in November 2011 and was completed in January 2012, using the same community referral process as with the communities of Marich Pass. In Kakong, the presence of fresh water was leading to increased settlement. People who had left were returning, and others were moving from the conflict-prone towns of Loyapat and Lorongo, which were short on water as well. This population increase due to the presence of water[805] was, ironically, beginning to cause water shortage again, and so the

[805] Nina Munk in her book, *The Idealist*, describes a similar phenomenon of population increase at Dertu, in North

committee was discussing the prospect of digging a second borehole. The main issue was uncertainty over whether the population increase was permanent or whether people arriving from conflict areas would return to those places in peace times.

The presence of water was also bringing other slow changes to the community and the families and traditions there. The permanence of the settlement could mean schools, for example, and a better education for the children, a hope vocalized by some parents. At the same time, commented others, better educated children tend not to want to raise and tend livestock in remote areas when they grow up. So livestock dependency, which has anyway become unreliable, is fading away and being slowly replaced by small trade – poultry, charcoal, firewood, dairy goat products – and some farming when weather permits.[806]

On the third day of the trip we met with a water committee representing an IDP (internally displaced persons) camp of about six hundred people, plus the neighbouring host community. The people in the camp had already been there five years, and were facing the fact that their situation was, realistically, no longer temporary; that they were going to have to find a way to make a home in this place, to not only survive but thrive. The community had earlier raised funds to purchase a borehole and tanks powered by solar panels, and the water project was now being followed up by a CLTS (Community-Led Total Sanitation) program, which seeks to reduce disease by getting people to use latrines and to wash their hands. As with the shift from cows and goats to more sustainable livestock choices, convincing people in Kalimorok to use latrines required overcoming certain traditional practices in favor of new ones. In Turkana tradition, the mother-in-law, the son-in-law, and the daughter cannot all defecate in one place, and it was found that for this reason latrines were being left unused. (Or, rather, hardly used.) The result was that CLTS workers had to "disgust them into it," via graphic demonstrations of what types of unsanitary things are really afoot when one defecates outdoors.[807]

Eastern Kenya, when it began to receive a high amount of resource inputs through the Millennium Villages Project. (Munk, Nina. The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty. NY: Doubleday, 2013.)

[806] People also were considering having chickens instead of goats, because the Pokot, a nearby tribe, "aren't likely to come steal their chickens," laughed one respondent living in the camp (06 September 2012). This is another example of the Appreciative Inquiry rethinking process that World Renew helps communities work through. For most people, goats and cows were and are still a point of pride in ownership, no matter how impractical. World Renew's development work helps people come to see their priorities differently.

[807] One CLTS worker placed a piece of feces into a bottle of water, shook it up, and offered it to people to drink. Another, in Kilifi, placed a piece of human feces on one plate, and put this near a plate of food. As flies gathered, they landed on one plate, then the other, and back and forth, demonstrating the travel trajectory of fecal matter into and around peoples' homes and bodies.

Because the IDP camp inhabitants had accepted the location's permanence and planned to settle there, water access and other issues needed to be addressed in a permanent, sustainable way, and no longer as a matter of relief. To that end World Renew also ran a dairy goat program there, including veterinary service and initial food and training, to help the work toward a livelihood in this new residence. Camp inhabitants hoped next for permanent houses – at the time of my visit most people lived in one-room brush-stick huts wrapped, sometimes, with ragged relief grain sacks to keep out some of the wind and rain – as well as land to live on and farm, and education for their children.

III. The Lifeworld of World Renew

The second half of this chapter describes the growth of CRWRC/World Renew within the multiple, imbricating contexts of church concerns, global politics, catastrophic contingencies, and the rest of the contemporary history in which it, like all institutions/systems, is inevitably embroiled. While on one hand certain of these conditions are inexorable – past history and its role in the institutional setting for World Renew over time – their influence is on the other hand not *necessary,* or immovable but in the present moment responsive, mobile, and even to an extent subject to the wills and ways of World Renew once established as an institutional presence. As the *habitus* or *lifeworld* of an institution, the influence of these structures and constructs is somewhat more available to tracing and analysis than that of non-institutional beings, simply because it is a documented process. At the same time, the human, personal elements at play are difficult to know.

i. Institutional Conditions

An important part of World Renew's originating and institutional context is the set of explicit expectations to which it is responsible as an institution itself, also part and representative of a larger institution, the CRCNA. These explicit expectations (in contradistinction to other, less explicit ones, also discussed in this chapter) are significant and necessary because of World Renew's structural links to the church, that is, its fundamental accountability to Synod. Administratively, though World Renew is permitted to make immediate and short term decisions in the field without first running them by the extensive CRC bureaucracy, Synod's direction and approval is required for projects of a term longer than one year. For any "extended benevolent activity" (never permanent, since that would counter World Renew's development intentions), World Renew must inform Synod "about the goals of the project and the planned termination of

it. Synod can then examine the project and mission agency in the light of these goals." Along with the goals and termination date of an extended project, World Renew must also, and most importantly, "demonstrate that a consistent Christian witness can be achieved by this ministry."[808]

World Renew's explicit primary task is "to promote the kingdom of God and demonstrate the gospel by administering the mercy of Jesus Christ to people in need everywhere, doing good 'to all people, especially to those who belong to the family of believers.'"[809] In fulfilling this task, World Renew must administer this Christian mercy in both word and deed, that is, to spirit as well as body. Also among the general duties, powers, and responsibilities of the World Renew agency and director are some that are directed domestically to the benefit and well-being of the CRCNA and its constituency. The constituency's vision of the full mission of the church is to be enlarged by World Renew's work, and this in coordination with the promotion of "the interests of the board and agency throughout the church."[810]

These expectations and assumptions stem from various roots, most influentially constituent demographics and paradigms, and scriptural interpretations or theological frameworks. Most of these latter are official, Reformed, and synodically articulated, which is one source of pressure for World Renew's actions; but scripture and Reformed theology are also weighed, interpreted, and wielded by constituents according to their own, lifeworld-reflecting visions of things. Since church representatives bring the concerns of church members and congregations to Synod, and these are passed, to a degree, again to World Renew, these vernacular theologies create a counterweight, and certain requirements of response, for both World Renew and Synod.

In the primary sources documenting the emergence and growth of CRWRC the scriptural and theological motivations and formulations given for why and how Christians ought to respond to poverty and suffering are both generally Christian and particularly Reformed, with both Puritan-Calvinist and outward-looking Kuyperian strands of thought characterizing the organization's directions. Often these two seemingly opposed points of view on the church in the world are able to work together well; often, too, however, they conflict, and this can be seen in

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[808] Acts of Synod 1978. "Supplement – Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (Art. 6)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1978. p.270

[809] Agenda for Synod 1986. "Study Committees – World Missions and Relief Commission: Report 37 (WMARC Final Report)." Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1986. p.466

[810] Ibid., 468

some of the major tensions that have characterized World Renew's history. Other tensions arise from interpretations of scripture which are at odds with aspects of the church as an institution whose membership lives in the North American economic culture and system.

ii. Immigrant Demographics and the Kuyperian Paradigm

Chapter three describes the socio-economic and religious factors of the emigration of Dutch Reformed people from Holland to Canada in the mid-twentieth century. To recap, of the total population of Dutch immigrants to Canada between 1946 and 1976, 41.2 percent belonged to the Christian Reformed – *christelijke gereformeerde* – denomination. Within this, the highest number came from "the lower middle class, the class of small farmers and the working classes."[811] These were the people who were most economically and politically disenfranchised in Holland in the immediate post-war years and who most found post-war Dutch society and government moving in disagreeable directions.

Before Abraham Kuyper and his championing of the *kleine luyden* and the democratization of the State Church, the lower classes in Holland were excluded from political decision-making and also did not have a voice in the church. Even after reforms were introduced, classism remained strong in Holland, with low social mobility and strong social sanctions against marrying, earning, and generally living above or below one's station. Not only did the lower classes chafe against these restraints, many immigrant genealogies include one or more members who had their fill of the strict Dutch upper class norms, and who looked to Canada as a way of starting a life without these.

Also, after the war many people left Holland out of displeasure with the newly strict government regulation of many areas of life, especially business. As part of its post-war recovery measures, the Dutch government had begun to restrict the establishment of new businesses, regulating what kinds and how many. This was to the detriment of people – mostly the lower classes – who wanted to start something new in the rebuilding economy, especially since so much farmland had been destroyed. For large families, even in normal times the amount of land available was not usually enough for more than one or two sons to earn a living from as they grew older and started families of their own. Thus, in combination with the Reformed, Kuyperian view of the appropriate role of the state, many *gereformeerde* Christians felt compelled to leave

[811] Gerrits, G.H. They Farmed Well: The Dutch-Canadian Agricultural Community in Nova Scotia, 1945-1995. Kentville, Nova Scotia: Vinland Press, 1996. p.21

for economic reasons.

These conditions meant that the Dutch Canadian community, especially the CRC, was populated early on by people who actively sought to change and avoid social systems and regulations that they found oppressive. They were also people often desperate and determined to firmly establish themselves economically, without bureaucratic interferences. Finally, these immigrants had grown up in a church that emphasized "pillars," the idea that the Christian church ought to seek to reform society by establishing institutions in parallel with secular institutions, thereby providing Christian witness and principles for all spheres of living, and they came from a culture where pillarization had become the norm.

In Canada this meant a relatively sudden incursion of sizeable groups of like-minded people, who were of the constitution to make change happen, and who gathered together in intentional communities (i.e. churches). Combined with the types of social ideas that the war and Kuyper, especially, had infused into Dutch Reformed theology, and also combined with the more Puritan notions of their earlier established Reformed brethren in the U.S., a culture and contextual worldview was formed out of which, it seems to me, CRWRC could almost not help but to emerge in response to various needs in the world.

The style of CRWRC/World Renew as an organization – not to mention the explicit requirements and implicit expectations of it – strongly reflects the lifeworld of its founding community. The fact that the CRCNA decided to establish its own, bi-national, non-governmental organization, rather than funnel its resources through another, established organization (as many churches do), or trust in the government to, for example, look after domestic disaster survivors, or refugees, or even send sufficient and appropriate aid abroad, reflects both the pillarization principle – wherein it is necessary and appropriate for there to be a strong, independent Christian *Reformed*, Christian-principled aid organization in the world – and the influential (especially Western Canadian) CRC distaste for government over-reach and its generally burdensome (and also "liberal," anti-Christian) bureaucracy, regulations, and attitudes. This type of independent, anti-regulatory attitude on the part of CRWRC – its supporters, champions, and staff – led in part to the somewhat "freewheeling" character of its early decades, a character that has had to be tempered in order for World Renew to be a more effective organization.[812] Nonetheless, the

[812] It is also very much part – though not the whole – of the almost unanimous appreciation of World Renew's "low overhead and administration costs." – See most of the interviews with constituents. The appreciation of this aspect of World Renew is also a cultural appreciation and perception of the organization as not weighted down by

immigrant culture (and pride in it) of independence, hard work, frugality, and community, in combination with the admixture of Canadian, Kuyperian, *gereformeerde* Dutch immigrant values and foundational Christian principles – the freedom from liberal-secular government restraints combined with the necessity of extending a Godly witness into all spheres (proclaiming God's sovereignty) – remains of indelible significance for the ongoing character of World Renew in the world: its work and the organizational presence itself.

The inextricability of these cultural, lifeworld perspectives from the socio-religious *habitus* of the CRCNA community is not only sociologically true, but is – the inextricability of these things – in and of itself a central and proclaimed part of the self-perception and worldview of this community that views itself as guided and measured by Christian "principles" in all areas of life. The articulation of this worldview and these principles includes the scriptural interpretations and emphases of this community, as well as the theological motifs that bind it together and to which it commonly refers as standards for behavior and decision-making at home and in the world, as well as *for* the world.

For and from within the CRC community's perspective on the poor and needy, inspiration to act comes in response to Christ's act of salvation, a model and impetus for human behavior and for the relationship of the church to the world. It also comes as a response to creation beliefs, and ideas about God and humanity that are related to the notion of the world as created in its entirety by God. Stewardship, addressed at length in chapter four, is an idea about human orientation to the world that comes out of Kuyperian-Calvinist creation and Kingdom visions of God's sovereignty over the universe and humankind's mandate to lead and care for that creation as God's representative, or steward.

Stewardship is an idea related to the creation state of humans, that is, their original relation to God, each other, and creation, and how that became "broken." The original creation state was one of harmonious and mutually beneficial relationship among all beings. This good relationship was destroyed at the moment of original sin, which brokenness is now (and historically) the source of evil and injustice in the world. Stewardship, then, is not mere care for creation as is, but is also the ongoing act of living in a way that recalls and seeks to repair this brokenness, to reconcile the relationships. It is a reparative, renewing act, that enacts the Kingdom of God and also heralds it, reminding people prophetically that this world is inherently,

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undue paperwork and process; not concerned with red tape, or constrained by bureaucratic "interference."

deeply flawed but that Christ will one day return "in full." Thus stewardship also contains the prophetic injunction to critique injustice, and to call people toward more just living.

In 1978 a Synod-appointed Task Force on World Hunger brought the stewardship mandate to bear on the issue of world hunger. In their report to Synod they wrote that God "called his creatures into being and entrusted the stewardship of the world to them. As God's partner, God's image, and God's steward, he ["man"] is to bring the creation to realize its full potential, and guard it against evil forces which damage and destroy."[813] This mandate "comes to special expression in relation to his fellow man." In imitation of God's general provision for humanity,[814] humans are "to give room to [their] neighbour[815] and so care for him that he can also enjoy God and his world. This stance of God stands for all time."[816] In this way, the creation doctrine of stewardship becomes part of the church's rationale for sending World Renew into the world to look after its less fortunate global neighbours.

The Task Force went on to describe the source of the inequality that now requires the existence of organizations like World Renew and the type of work that they do. Inequality is caused by human greed, so that that which God apportioned to all people in the beginning has been hoarded away by some, to the detriment of others. The source of this greed, its original moment, is Adam's original sin, which was when he "sought to be the sovereign lord of the creation without God," apportioning to himself the legendary fruit which, once removed from "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,"[817] ceased to belong to all. Because of the "entrance of sin into the world... distrust, hatred, and conflict" began among humans. Under these conditions, "man begins to limit, restrict, and oppress his fellow man."[818] This runs counter to God's decree in Genesis that it is not good for people to live alone and so "provided relationships for us... families, churches, neighbourhoods and villages."[819]

Looking at World Renew's practices in the light of this understanding of the original

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[813] Acts of Synod 1978. "Reports, C – Study Committees: Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37(Art. 73)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1978. p.584

[814] Still "man," in the text, but I have taken the liberty here of assuming intended inclusivity.

[815] Who is at a disadvantage due to the presence of sin in the world.

[816] Acts of Synod 1978. "Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37(Art. 73)." p.585; this section cites Gen. 1:26, Psalm 8, Heb. 2:5-9.

[817] Genesis 2:17, NRSV

[818] Acts of Synod 1978. "Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37(Art. 73)." p.585

[819] Agenda for Synod 2004. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2004. p.228

creation state and of the postlapsarian purpose of humanity as the recreation of that state, one sees one reason that the methods of partnership and relationship-building have become so firmly fundamental to World Renew's work and self-presentation. Ideologically, they have been there all along. If humans were created to be God's partners and companions, then it is not only strategically sound but is also a "Kingdom" practice for World Renew to work in partnership with organizations and national staff abroad. Similarly, if God designed humans to live and flourish in various kinds of relationships with each other, then it is both developmentally and doctrinally sound for World Renew to work toward the improvement of those relationships in the communities it serves.

Even the earliest exposition of World Renew's founding principles, before the official establishment of CRWRC, invokes the idea that what World Renew is doing is responding to the post-Fall state of the world as well as to God's new contract with the elect, called to restore the world to its original Good state:

> As the church of our Lord Jesus Christ, we are duty bound to represent and express this love to the world-in-need of our day. Ceaselessly we must explore new ways and cultivate new means of revealing God's mercy. For the church to forget the terrible need and suffering, the indescribable misery of many millions of people in destitute, underprivileged areas, is to lose the very character of being the 'ecclesia,' and so the marks of God's gracious election. It might be added that we must not minimize the fact that the ministry of mercy is not only necessary for the poor, but – and perhaps even more so – for the rich. 'For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil.' (I Tim. 6:10).[820]

We see here the Calvinist and Kuyperian notions of election and special grace, which come with both privilege and responsibility. We also see the prophetic side of stewardship which, while proclaiming the Kingdom, is also often paired with critique of the status quo – often the overly comfortable rich.

Though earlier discussions of social justice in the prophetic voice have fallen flat, with people feeling judged, in more recent years relational discourse and the inclusion of the church's wealthy in helping find development solutions have allowed World Renew to reintroduce this prophetic angle. Today's prophetic critique of systemic injustice describes poverty as "a fundamentally relational problem... as a consequence of communities being enmeshed in a wide array of broken relationships that perpetuate inequality and injustice," for example between men

[820] Acts of Synod 1961. "Supplement No. 28 (Articles 57, 133): World-Wide Relief and Service Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Publishing House., 1961 p.347

and women, land owners and the landless, between the wealthy and the poor, or between classes. "Overcoming poverty," World Renew's 2012 Annual Report to Synod continues, "therefore requires addressing these functional relationships at all levels," such as through education, peacemaking, redistribution of resources, or advocacy for fair trade policy and practice.[821] With structural injustice pointed to as a major source of poverty in the world and framed as a manifestation of original sin resulting in relationships of inequality and disparity, the church is called, as deacons and stewards, to bring justice into this situation.

Finally, the Reformed biblical worldview – especially of humans as created by God, in combination with the example of Christ's ministry – is one of a non-dual, human totality of spirit and body which as a whole is to be ministered to compassionately by Christian word and deed. This principle of the unity of spirit and flesh in the human, word and deed in ministry, is and has been central to the shape of World Renew's practice as well as to the discourse by which it explains its work, and as it negotiates the work and wills of other denominational agencies. In light of these unities, the church's "purpose is not only to feed the hungry [but] to free them from hunger so they may be free to serve God. This implies two things: first, our help must consist not only of handing food to the hungry, but must include efforts aimed at making the hungry self-sufficient." In other words, soteriological purposes require sustainable development – not just "throwing money at" poverty, but helping establish long-term solutions independent of outside aid, government or non-government. "Secondly," continues the Task Force, "our food aid must be accompanied by presentation of God's reformational Word, so that the hungry may be led to Christ and the social and governmental structures which cause hunger may be reformed."[822] The accompaniment of aid by the gospel, the total coherence of spirit and flesh, then, is not merely about conversion to Christianity, or encouragement in existent faith, but is about conversion to a conviction – a transformation of mindset, one might say – that will motivate people to reform social structures. This reform is the real sustainability, and it also happens to be the *gereformeerde*, Kuyperian view of the proper role of Christianity and the church in society. Not revolution, but reformation: the transformation of social structures, working with what exists and not seeking to overturn it.

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[821] Acts of Synod 2012. "Board of Trustees of the Christian Reformed Church in North America. Agency Supplements: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2012. p.651. Note, as well, the Kuyperian thought at work here.

[822] Acts of Synod 1978. "Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37(Art. 73)." p.615

IV. Reformation not Revolution: the Kuyperian Ministry of World Renew

This section describes several periods in which tensions in the church resulted in particular shifts of mandate and expectation for World Renew, periods in which demands on World Renew and its responses to these demonstrate clear dialectics between the CRCNA's diaconal self-perception and World Renew's acts as the diaconal arm. That is to say, periods that exemplify how World Renew's responses to shifts in the church's expectations have become integrated into the CRCNA's diaconal paradigm. It concludes with what I see as World Renew's current manner of responding to many of the disparate and complex demands on its work, arising from various legitimate directions.

Kuyper's religious and political vision of the church in the world stipulates that the world outside the church proper cannot be rejected but must be engaged, since God is omnipresent and Christians are required to serve him everywhere that he is. This calling, then, is not only to engage, but to do so in a way that actively brings justice – redemption – into the fallen, or broken, world. This task is to be accomplished through the two major Kuyperian ideas that Dutch immigrants brought with them to Canada in the post-WWII decades: the pillarization of society wherein each ideological (religious) segment of society develops its own complete set of institutions, from schools to aid organizations; and, second, the Christian responsibility to actively participate in the broader society, standing against social injustice and also presenting an alternative and an antidote to anti-Christian forces in the world. This participation is part of the ongoing redemption of the world through the power of Christ, demonstrating God's continued active participation in human history.

In addition to its purposes of evangelism and mercy, the necessity of a diaconal organization to reach out into the world was articulated in terms of special and common grace. The 1961 committee writes that:

> philanthropy [by the larger society] is to a large extent the fruit of God's common grace. We are thankful that this [exists] but the church may not content herself with... philanthropic labours... carried on for humanitarian reasons so that she should be absolved of any further responsibility in this matter. The church must be engaged in world relief and service for Christ's sake, and must work through the divinely indicated channels ordained for this purpose, the diaconate.
>
> Nor must this task of the church become confused with that aid given by the state... the mercy of the state belongs intrinsically to the sphere of justice, while

the mercy of the church is... unto the edification of the body of Christ.[823]

Besides the understanding that secular philanthropy is capable of doing good despite its anti-Christian principles but that that should be considered an available tool for aiding Christian endeavors, the above quote reminds us that a significant part of the Kuyperian worldview is the notion of sphere. Christians are called to be active in every sphere, but as a Christian *community*, rather than as the church itself. The church as institution has its own, limited, sphere of appropriate authority, and it is the Christian community of believers that should form itself into responsive organizations for various spheres outside of the church. The compassionate response to world hunger or suffering is to be done through the diaconate, the church's arm of compassionate ministry, and so the original diaconal task of caring for the needy within the church and within its immediate community of neighbours has been widened to include its global "neighbours." The above quote also reminds us that a key purpose of diaconal work beyond Christian mercy is the spiritual benefit of the church's members. Clearly, however, each church community is not itself capable of diaconal service both near and far. Therefore the international diaconal agency, CRWRC, was established as a solution to embody the relationship between the Christian church communities and the world, wherein each church has been sent into the world to perform a ministry of mercy by and like Christ, and by which all churches are edified.

The 1978 Task Force on World Hunger was charged with motivating church members to take action by reminding them that world hunger should be responded to in a Christian manner, that is, by "feeding" the spirit and the body. The Task Force's mandate asks it to "emphasize the prophetic ministry of the church as this regards world hunger." In response to this mandate, before delivering their report, the Task Force reminds the church that the prophetic tradition in Christianity has two sides. First, citing Deuteronomy 18:15-18, they note that "true and prophetic proclamation explains the Scriptures and thus points out the standards and the direction for concrete Christian action in its address to the needs of the world." The report's authors then turn to the prophetic tradition of the Christian Old Testament, describing how those prophets were strong critics of the society that God's people lived in. Although subjecting "existing social institutions, policies, and practices of peoples, both national and international, to the norm of God's word" might be unsettling and challenging, they warn, it is part of the "faithful

[823] Ibid., 345

proclamation of the biblical message."[824]

The scriptures that the 1978 Task Force uses as guidelines for how the church ought to respond to structural injustice and poverty include sections from the Old Testament Laws of Moses, such as the Laws on Gleaning (Lev. 19:9-10; Deut. 24:19-22), on Tithe (Lev. 27:30; Deut. 14:28-29), on Charging Interest, i.e. Usury (Exodus 22:25, 27; Prov.19:17), the Sabbath Year (Exodus 23:10-11; Deut. 15:1-11), and the Law of Jubilee (I Kings 21:3; Lev. 25:10; Deut 4:7-8; Deut. 15:4-6).[825] Regarding care for the hungry in the New Testament, the Task Force refers to Jesus' teachings and examples (in Luke 4:14-21; Matt. 25:31-45; Matt. 15:32; John 12:8), to the example of the early church (Acts 2 and 4), Paul's apostolic ministry, and the letters of Paul and James (I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 8 and 9; James 1:27; James 2:15ff).[826] They note that the motivations of the early church to save the poor and hungry were that "hunger means... gnawing pain [and] horrible wastage of human life" and also compromises the ability to spread the Gospel, reasons both humanitarian and soteriological. Ultimately, though, the motivation of the early church was Christ's radical act of supreme sacrifice, which the church today as ever is called to imitate and perpetuate among Christians and non-Christians alike.[827]

In its assessment of the state of affairs regarding the church's awareness of and response to issues of world hunger, the 1978 Task Force made a number of suggestions that were early moments in what would end up being a slow shift in the meaning and import of "diaconate" for CRCNA congregations, and how this would come to affect and be connected with the work of World Renew. In its recommendations for "who is to carry out the response" to world hunger, the Task Force suggested that individual responses could be made at the family level, for example as prayer and tithing. At the congregational level, the Task Force recommended appointing "hunger coordinators" who "would be part of a national network developed by the CRWRC." These coordinators were envisioned as "setting up programs both at the congregational and the classical level, all as part of a national program," and the Task Force recommended "that the CRWRC define the tasks and qualifications for these persons and develop the programs involving them." As the "logical" coordinating agency of these congregational education programs, CRWRC would work with the CRC Board of Publications and Boards for World and Home Missions, in

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[824] Acts of Synod 1978. "Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37(Art. 73)." pp.567, 568
[825] Ibid., 585-588
[826] Ibid., 588-590
[827] Ibid., 590-592. À la the Good Samaritan, who "did not ask whether the robbed and bleeding victim along the road was a brother in the faith." p.592

consultation with the World Missions Executive Secretary and the Synodical Task Force on World Hunger.[828]

Such developments present a clear path by which the Kuyperian perspective on an outward-looking church with responsibilities to the world led to an increase in World Renew's inward-focused duties, which were expanded to cultivating a church constituency educated and motivated to contribute to the church's mission in the world. The designation of CRWRC as the most appropriate organization to oversee constituent education on issues of world hunger altered and increased the organization's spheres of responsibility, sharpening its role as a diaconal arm for both ministering and training. This is a clear early example of how the CRCNA's Reformed perspectives, and World Renew's position as an agency within the CRCNA, have directly influenced the configuration and use of World Renew's personnel, expertise, and other resources.

One World Renew insider pointed out that, since part of World Renew's task has become increasingly one of constituency transformation, World Renew is affected by the various voices in the regional classes of the CRCNA. World Renew must manage and balance voices and opinions, maintaining the constituents' sense of ownership while still having final authority in matters of the field and in what is best for partners and communities. At the same time, part of its work is to influence those voices and opinions. The report of the 1978 Task Force and later reports have led to the development of a number of programs designed to influence constituency views on various issues related to world hunger – to increase general awareness and concern. One outcome of such awareness and concern, however, has been the arisal of demands, suggestions, opinions, and tensions that were not previously part of the discussion. Both the Task Force's evaluation and constituency response to that and to ensuing programming have been influential for the activities and possibilities of World Renew.

CRWRC's first long term development project was begun in direct response to the 1978 Task Force Report. Sierra Leone was chosen as the site for this because it was at that time (1980), "the poorest country in the world." The "poorest country" was chosen not only to help the people there, but also as an exercise in constituency engagement and education. The project was accompanied by the distribution of educational literature and by letters to CRCNA congregations from staff in Sierra Leone. The letters were an effective method of keeping congregations personally interested and engaged, learning and caring on a deeper level than would result from

[828] Ibid., 617-618

dissemination of information only. Unfortunately, in the early 1990s civil war broke out in Sierra Leone, and by 1996 all CRWRC staff were forced to leave.[829] Despite this abrupt ending, the project had a lasting impact on a generation of CRC members, who recall Sierra Leone before any other projects World Renew has embarked on in the meantime.

Despite its effectiveness, however, the 1978 Report was not received without mixed reviews. With its focus on systemic injustice as a major source of global inequality and poverty, especially those systems that economically benefit the affluent West, it is evident from ensuing documents that it raised more than a few defensive hackles in the church. In 1979, Synod replied, "Many good things can be said about this report. However, since the mandate speaks of the structure and systemic problems causing world hunger, it is the opinion of the [reviewing] committee that the report with its focus on the business structures in the West could have called attention to other structures as well, such as labor, education, and government in the West, and ancient social patterns, inherited values, and cherished philosophical perspectives in the developing countries."[830] In other words, the Task Force should have been more positive about the West and its potential contributions, and more critical of developing countries and the aspects of those cultures that can be said to be to blame.

This defensive flavor of response to the 1978 Report was reflected in the follow up report of the Task Force, the 1979 Supplement, which provided a list of denominational expectations and beliefs that are to guide World Renew's conduct. The list can be read as a recitation of tensions in the CRCNA, inflamed by the 1978 Report. The list is prefaced by a recap of what is, in the CRC, the middle ground between prophetic and pastoral, a ground that is central to the Reformed point of view. This is, that the proper Christian position is neither revolutionary overturning, nor passivity, but rather reform: "because God's people know that 'though the wrong seems oft so strong God is the ruler yet,' their perspective on evil in society is radically different from that of the unbeliever. Christians cannot be passive in the face of evil, but because they know that God is in control, the *manner* in which they go about changing evil structures is vastly different from that of unbelievers."[831]

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[829] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "One Church, One Country: CRC Ministry in Sierra Leone." World Renew. 29 January 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/one-church-one-country-crc-ministry-sierra-leone> [Accessed 07 March 2015]

[830] Acts of Synod 1979. "Article 74." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1979. p.82

[831] Acts of Synod 1979. "Reports: Task Force on World Hunger (Report 36; Art.74)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of

The list of behavioral and attitudinal expectations is, thus, as follows:

1) Respect for all people, rich and poor: "For Christians who would combat structural evil, the means is as significant as the end. Because judgment is of the Lord, Christians need not choose means that violate other people or their offices. The truth must be spoken, but always in love. The Lord desires healing for all those caught in unjust structures, be they victims or oppressors."
2) Christians are not revolutionaries, nor do they defend the status quo, i.e. They wish neither to abolish nor maintain human institutions as they are: "Christians are reformers like the Apostle Paul, who did not tell slaves to rebel against their masters, but nevertheless lit the torch that would eventually spell the end of slavery when he told Philemon to receive Onesimus as 'more than a slave, a beloved brother' (Philemon v. 16)." As reformers, Christians do not make "merely superficial changes, but... go to the spiritual heart of the matter."

(Again, here, note the theological rationale for World Renew's stated development intent of changing the habits and mindsets of cultures and peoples. They are a reforming organization as much as a development one.)

3) The kingdom of God is both already and not yet: "...the future, full revelation of the Son of Man allows Christians to labor in the present with both hope and realism."
4) Christians cannot speak or act in ways that judge or imply judgmental criticism of other Christians, rich or poor: "Christians are supportive of rather than judgmental towards other Christians who are struggling within unjust structures."

This, number four, and the next, number five, seem to me to be clear editorial comments on the findings of Task Force on World Hunger 1978, which made its recommendations and presented its findings in a purely prophetic manner, bare of any diplomatic cushioning designed to make the Report more palatable to its audience.

Number five reads:

Christians avoid 'guilt trips' over what cannot be changed [e.g. one's circumstances or context of living]. They realize that God holds each person responsible for the wealth, positions, and power he or she possesses, not that which belongs to others. By responsible stewardship

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Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1979. p.636. Italics original.

of that which they have been given, be that great or small, Christians are made partners with God himself in the bringing of his kingdom.[832]

As a whole, this list embodies the tensions between the pietist and the prophetic sides of the CRCNA constitution and constituency. The Supplement further encapsulates these often conflicting perspectives by noting that "Scripture seems to have two contradictory themes with respect to Christian response to evil structures. On the one hand, numerous passages contain prophetic declarations of God's impending judgment on evil structures and upon those who maintain and profit from them. And, on the other hand, many pastoral injunctions tell those who are oppressed to wait patiently on the Lord."[833] These apparently contradictory scriptural adjunctions, the prophetic and the pastoral, parallel strongly the sides of the significant fissure within the CRCNA, between the Kuyperian, outward-oriented congregants, and the pietist, inward-focused. The list of expectations elucidates specific points of tension between these two sides, points that can as well exist for individual congregants within their own lives. This type of tension can exist, for example, if an individual both believes in the prophetic role of the church and is him/herself economically affluent – a position that, it so happens, is quite common among members of the CRCNA, especially older generations and those who have inherited from them.

For such members, the Supplement asserts clearly that wealthy Christians are not to be made to feel guilty for what they have amassed, just as the poor are not guilty for their poverty.[834] Moreover, it clarifies that radical action is not required or even recommended, and that suggesting radical solutions to systemic problems is not part of the Reformed Christian perspective or approach. Therefore, people do not need to feel threatened or criticized on an individual level, but rather should find ways to participate in constructive processes that contribute to positive change.

The tensions that surfaced in the wake of the 1978 Report, then, did not stem from the Report *per se*, but rather were symptomatic of a deeper underlying fissure within the CRCNA, a faultline inherent to its Reforming character and thus to the character of World Renew as an arm of the church. For the most part, the work and institutions of World Renew have been broad and flexible enough to contain and serve the two competing church-world perspectives in

[832] Ibid., 636 (for all quotes in this list).
[833] Ibid., 635
[834] Even if/though they are poor because of the existence of sin in the world, which causes economic disparity, this is not the particular sin of the poor or the rich. I.e., poverty and wealth are not directly correlated to one's sinfulness or lack thereof, but rather to the general presence of sin in the world.

complementary ways, ministering to both the church and to people outside of the church through mutually supportive methods.

Still, there have been issues, such as resistance to the idea of entrusting overseas ministries entirely to national staff[835] or to the adoption of gender inclusive policy and programming, that have caused lasting dissension in the church.[836] One very significant dispute, rooted in the CRCNA's historical division and manifesting in disagreement over the meaning and appearance of a ministry of word and deed, lasted over twenty years. This conflict, between CRWRC and CRWM (Christian Reformed World Missions; the CRC's missionary agency), was taken to Synod repeatedly from 1962 on, and was finally resolved by the formation in 1986 of a joint Board of World Ministries (dissolved, with a number of agencies, in 1993, and replaced permanently in 1995 by the Board of Trustees, the current governing authority for CRC ministries).[837]

The source of this dispute – the ways that word and deed should, or must, or perhaps must not, be combined in ministry – can be seen in the Synodical discussion at the very founding moments of CRWRC, in which it was pointed out that:

> the findings of social psychology... [indicate that] the struggle for bare existence kills all... concern for any other values including the spiritual. Man in... struggling for survival only, is on the verge of dehumanization and almost beyond recognition as the real image bearer of God. In former days the work of mercy functioned simply as an auxiliary service... in the main task of bringing the gospel, but now we begin to realize that in underprivileged countries it may have to precede the preaching of the gospel.[838]

CRWRC's position with regard to the order of word and deed, then, was that deed had to occur before word, because people under physical duress do not have the capacity to be genuinely receptive to the gospel, and would probably only accept it in the spirit of "rice Christians."[839]

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[835] Acts of Synod 1982. "Report 6-A: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee Supplement (Art. 112)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1982. pp.296-297

[836] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Gender Equality and the Work of World Renew." World Renew. 12 August 2012. <http://www.worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/gender-equality-and-work-world-renew> [Accessed 07 March 2015]
This resistance was linked to the dissension in the church at the time – the mid-90s – over the issue of women in office, as well as to concerns about the imposition of North American (feminist) values on other cultures.

[837] CRCNA. Index of Synodical Decisions: 1857-2000. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2001. pp.530, 598, 63-4; CRCNA. "Board of Trustees."

[838] Acts of Synod 1961. p.347

[839] That is, people who "convert" to Christianity in order to get the material goods – e.g. grain or rice – that come with it.

In its enactment of this over the years, CRWRC developed into an increasingly sophisticated aid organization. As its programming matured, conflict with CRWM arose over the exact nature and extent of deed within CRWRC's word and deed practice. The CRWM agency was concerned that CRWRC was not demonstrating enough concern for direct inclusion of the gospel, viz. sharing the Word, preaching, or proselytizing, in its field work with the needy.[840] It was especially concerned, for instance, that income-generating projects established as development projects overseas had left the realm of ministry and had simply become business endeavors. CRWM argued from various angles to have Synod enforce a direct scriptural gospel component to CRWRC poverty reduction and disaster relief work by merging the two agencies so that CRWM could oversee the word aspect of CRWRC's work. CRWRC consistently responded that acts of mercy are always in themselves already a direct enactment of the gospel, that their work is clearly a Christian diaconal ministry, and that placing such work under the added responsibility of incorporating traditional mission work would hamper the efficiency of their primary task, having the ironic effect of making the gospel a burden to its own transmission. This basic disagreement was presented to Synod in various terms and phrasings over the course of twenty years.

CRWRC's rejections of CRWM's proposal were articulated overwhelmingly in terms of stewardship and efficiency: that these values would be threatened on several fronts, which in turn would have various negative outcomes for CRWRC, for the church, and for the work of CRWM as well. In 1982 they framed their rejection of CRWM's proposal in terms of concern for the issues of stewardship and of self-help concepts which, they explained, are both independent and interdependent factors in the organization's work. Self-help and self-sufficiency are sound principles of development, goals to which truly other-interested development aid should aspire; and stewardship, again, is an intrinsically necessary Christian value, since God commanded it. Stewardly management of resources leads logically to the goal of self-sufficiency for development partners and communities, since this frees up World Renew resources for use otherwise and elsewhere, and is a more sustainable, and thus more stewardly, practice in and of

[840] See especially Acts of Synod 1982, pp.285-306 for a detailed account of this dispute and its history.
See also: Acts of Synod 1983. "Study Committees: Ad Hoc Committee on World Missions and World Relief (Report 36)." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1983. pp.464-472 for further summary of the issues. 1983 covers twelve areas of friction, the most tenacious of which over the years, and which was at the core of the dissent, was CRWM's assertion that CRWRC seeks to separate word from deed. This assertion based in this year on CRWRC's rejection of proposals to directly incorporate proselytization into its relief and development projects.

itself.

CRWRC also argued with CRWM on its own grounds, noting the conjunction of a higher dollar amount of aid funding from "the OPEC (mostly Muslim) countries" in comparison with the amount from North America, given the decreasing number of Christians worldwide and an increasing global number of Muslims. Such figures (the decreasing Christian vs. increasing Muslim populations) gave CRWRC "a sense of urgency about using the resources [they had] to reach as many people as possible." "With the same resources," the argument continues, "CRWRC currently is able to reach five to ten times the number of people in the past, when traditional methods of providing Christian mercy were used."[841]

In 1983 they argued again against CRWM's repeated proposal, this time on grounds of stewardship in the area of organizational efficiency: "In general," they wrote, "it appears to us, large organizations tend to be less responsive than smaller ones to both their clients (in CRWRC's case, the world's needy) and to their donors. Merger would increase the size of this agency significantly. Contrary to some peoples' beliefs, administrative costs tend to increase, not decrease, with size."[842] In this rationale one sees constituent concerns and reasons for loyalty to World Renew that are still expressed today: its organizational responsibility on the ground as well as its frugal use of donations.

Finally, in 1985 CRWRC responded once again to CRWM's concerns. This time, in a barely disguised criticism of the spirit of CRWM's insistence, and again with reference to stewardship as efficiency:

> It is important that all programs of the CRC, whether church planting or diaconal in nature be as efficient as possible. The needs of the Third World are staggering. We as individuals, or as a church, do not want to come under God's judgment because inefficiency, or theological or agency hassles, allowed people to go spiritually or physically hungry when they could have been fed. CRWRC places a high value on efficiently meeting the needs of Third World peoples.[843]

This final statement outlines starkly the division in the CRCNA between those whose priority is to go out into the world and establish the kingdom, and those who prioritize the fortification of

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[841] Acts of Synod 1982, p.295. "Traditional methods" meaning reliance on ex-pat power, rather than local people and resources, for work and leadership; and also donating food and material goods and shipping them from North America, rather than sourcing goods more locally.

[842] Acts of Synod 1983. "Report 4-A: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee Supplement." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1983. pp.542-543

[843] Acts of Synod 1985. "Reports – Boards and Standing Committees: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee, Report 6 (Art. 40)." Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications A Ministry of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1985. p.155

the church. Though these are often complementary positions, since establishing the Kingdom in the world is of benefit to the church writ large as well as for the CRC in particular, it is clear that the two perspectives on the relationship of church and world can also come to serious loggerheads.

The twenty year dispute over the cooperation and proper conduct and roles of the two ministry agencies concluded, finally, with the 1986 establishment of the CRCNA Board of World Ministries under which the two agencies acted independently, joining forces where circumstances (and optimum efficiency) permit. That same year, World Renew received an updated mandate from Synod, throughout which the conflictual context is evident.

The mandate contains, for instance, the clear directive that "The agency [World Renew] shall accompany this ministry [i.e., its primary task] with the presentation of the gospel of Jesus Christ and the call to Christian discipleship in the totality of human life; it shall effect this dimension of its task with the help of the World Missions agency wherever possible."[844] "In addressing this [primary] task," the mandate continues,

> the World Relief Committee and agency shall have primary responsibility for those parts of the mission called emergency relief, diaconal needs, and community development. This includes disaster relief, benevolence, training of deacons,[845] health care, agricultural development, industrial development, literacy training, income generation, socio-economic aid, and the training of nationals for all of these.[846]

There follows an explicit delineation of exactly which parts and types of the administration of the mercy of Jesus Christ World Renew is to be responsible for. It is responsible to ensure that these parts of the missions are carried out in a Christian manner, and not only this but a Christian Reformed one: "The agency-committee is the agent of the board [of World Ministries] to ensure that these responsibilities are exercised in keeping with the Word of God, the Reformed confessional standards, and the Church Order of the Christian Reformed Church."[847]

CRWRC's conflicted relationship with CRWM reflects a deep-seated and ongoing conflict within the CRC itself – the question of to what extent it is the CRC's duty to evangelize and, further, what does evangelism look like. This debate is rooted in the question of the nature of God's grace ("common" or "special") and so of salvation, predestination, and more, but it is also,

[844] Agenda for Synod 1986, pp.466-67
[845] Viz. overseas, of partner churches
[846] Agenda for Synod 1986, p.467
[847] Ibid., 467

again, rooted in the historical-theological divide between the immigrant generations within the CRCNA: the early pietists, and the post-War, neo-Calvinist, Kuyperians, for whom all actions are types of and opportunities for evangelism. The conclusion of this manifestation of the dispute between the two sides is both a compromise and a refusal to compromise on this issue of evangelism and stewardship, an outcome that replicates itself repeatedly in the history of World Renew and the choices and actions that it makes within the context and constraints of the CRCNA.

In the early nineties, not long after the establishment of the 1986 mandate, the CRCNA and CRWRC underwent something of a crisis of morals, based on the church's overall failure to sufficiently respond to the guidelines and recommendations of the 1978-1979 Task Force on World Hunger. In 1991, the Synodic World Hunger review, tasked with investigating sources of apathy in the church, reported: "Influencing systems for the sake of more justice has been a formidable task during the 1980s, a decade focused on self-indulgence. [...] Despite an increasing awareness of how our world is linked economically, environmentally, and developmentally, church members remain apathetic about being advocates for even such benign legislation as the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act." In other words, though churches were perhaps responding with financial support, work in the area of systemic change for social justice was lacking. The review therefore called for "more prophetic voices from our pulpits and in our diaconates."[848]

The review includes a list of possible reasons behind the lack of congregational support for addressing world hunger; external factors that had also affected CRWRC's aid capabilities in the previous decade:

- donor fatigue due to an increase in the overall number of causes seeking support;
- a decrease in "denominational loyalty," i.e. people are contributing through other organizations or churches instead of the CRC;
- "a decade of focus on self in the secular culture;"
- "an isolationist foreign policy by the U.S. Government and tightening of budgets in Canada and the U.S. for economic-development work in the two-thirds world;"
- "theological debate in the churches [such as that between CRWRC and CRWM], which

[848] Agenda for Synod 1991. "World Ministries Supplement: Report 5-A." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1991. p.593

polarizes a community that could otherwise focus on outreach and justice."[849]

In addition to these reasons, they observe that media portrayals of disasters and hunger may also contribute to apathy, since through these "members of the CRC have become aware of world hunger, but they often lack the incentive and/or know-how to respond."[850] One might observe, as well, that the 1980s were a decade of recession in North America, which would certainly have affected the donating power of church members, even if no change was made in the flat percentage of income tithed to the church (i.e. if one is taking in less money, one's tithe will decrease, even if still the same percentage of income).

To respond to the decreased and diverted concern resulting from these factors, as well as to examine ways to evaluate the effectiveness of current resources and how to improve or bolster resources and practices, Synod established "a Task Force made up of some of the original members of the first Task Force on World Hunger (1978) as well as members of some of the current networks being utilized by CRWRC."[851] Fifteen years after the first Task Force, the work of the 1993 Task Force on World Hunger became the basis for another re-structuring of CRWRC and for a renewal and revamping of the church's efforts to engage its membership in caring for the world's poor and disenfranchised, through education and opportunity (volunteering).

The restructuring, begun in 1995, took shape in the form of several types of inter-connected team: geographic ministry teams, "home-office-based function teams," a "Facilitation and Integration Team," and "The Extended Facilitation and Integration Team."[852] Of these, the geographic ministry team was meant to work most directly with both community and staff members abroad (i.e. partners), and with the constituency at home. The task description of the geographic ministry teams became another facet of World Renew's explicitly articulated duties toward the church and toward others, from within the church, and presents an outline of World Renew's various directions of duty:

> Geographic ministry teams directly carry out the work of [World Renew], showing God's love to people in physical and spiritual need. They do this by facilitating a direct connection between our supporting constituency and the poor – to channel the interest, love, prayers, and support of those who are in a position to transmit such blessings. At the same time, they channel, in the other direction, the learning

[849] Ibid., 593-594

[850] Agenda for Synod 1991. "Overture 66: Renew and Evaluate World-Hunger Programs." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1991. p.509

[851] Agenda for Synod 1991. "World Ministries Supplement." p.595

[852] Agenda for Synod 1997. "Unified Report of Agencies and Committees: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1997. p.169-170

> and the love that come from working with our partners. The five geographic ministry teams are 'in the field,' working with our partners in North America, Latin America, West Africa, East Africa, and Asia, building and nurturing collaborative and supportive relationships that help partners to grow, attain a better standard of living, and ultimately become self-sufficient.[853]

In combination with its given mandate, then, World Renew works in a number of simultaneous directions of duty: vertical, toward Synod and, ultimately, toward God; as well as vertically toward the Board of Trustees. Horizontally, World Renew must reach out toward partners overseas (and the communities that benefit via these partnerships) and at the same time toward constituencies at home. These multiple directions of responsibility, each one of them official, also come with their own, unofficial, sets of expectations and assumptions, some of which this chapter has examined, as have chapters four and six.

The 1995, 1986, and 1979 restructurings and reorientations encapsulate well the multilectical dynamics by which World Renew is influenced by, responsive to, and a contributor to "objective" conditions of the larger historical context at the same time as to the complex, particular relations in which it is involved in various directions and capacities. As facilitator of the church in the world, these conditions become embedded in the practice and being of World Renew.

Following the period of intense reassessment in the early 1990s, still flavoured by tension between the inward and outward foci of the church, it seems that World Renew discovered ways to use the simultaneity of its complex mandates and relationships to create a productive tension toward the benefit of its constituent work, rather than a discordant one, especially in the area of advocacy. One of the methods of this discovery has been the use of Appreciative Inquiry. The 1994 Annual Report to Synod contains World Renew's first publicized use of the term, in its summary of the long-range plan arrived at following the 1991 Review and 1992-1993 Task Force. "Such plans," the 1994 Report explains, "are being developed by concentrating on the strengths of [World Renew] – affirmative systems, positive image, positive actions. This approach uses the very best of 'what is' to ignite the collective imagination toward 'what might be.' We call this 'Appreciative Inquiry.'"[854] As noted in Part I, Appreciative Inquiry is in many

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[853] Agenda for Synod 1998. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1998. p.118, my underlining. (This same paragraph is also found in Agenda for Synod 1997, pp.169-170.)

[854] Agenda for Synod 1994. "Unified Report of Agencies and Committees: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1994. p.106

ways synonymous with "asset identification," and World Renew's shift was very much toward appreciatively identifying assets held by themselves as well as by their partners overseas and their supporters in the church (which two sets of people are also assets for World Renew).

Within the CRCNA, World Renew came to rediscover and reassess the resource of people interested in volunteering, as well as diaconates at the classical and congregational level who were willing and desirous of "doing" things to help. World Renew has always faced the conundrum of who, exactly, benefits from volunteer work in third world contexts. Within the CRC this question has long been bound to the issue of stewardship of resources, plus the issue of whether volunteering is fair to the host communities if so much of it is about "getting an experience," and when the host community could easily do the work itself, with airfare and accommodation costs perhaps donated to the cause rather than spent on travel. In their 1994 Report World Renew states, "We [World Renew] face a persistent question: Are volunteer programs primarily for meeting the needs of [World Renew] and the constituency or for meeting the needs of the project and the poor?"[855] As came to light clearly in my interviews (see chapter four), this remains a significant question within the CRC membership.

What World Renew seems to have done, though, is re-position the question of volunteering in the light of Appreciative Inquiry, with the desire to be personally involved as an asset. Beginning shortly after the 1991 Review, this asset has come to be activated through the rhetoric and practice of "relationship." In earlier chapter drafts of this dissertation I struggled to come to grips with what, exactly, the term "relationship" means in the context of this inter-cultural aid-based connection – why use that word, and (how) is it even possible? In the meantime, re-reading and thinking through interviews and conversations that I'd had, other materials I had read, I recalled how several of my Albertan interviewees had described their experiences of being with people in other places, walking with them, cooking, driving, and talking with them, and just getting to know them. And it dawned on me that maybe that was it. Not being "in a relationship," as a status between persons, not necessarily maintaining contact, not necessarily mutuality or reciprocity, or subconsciously assuaging white, Western guilt. Those, and other things, may well be present, but what benefits World Renew out of these encounters, and what benefits the partners overseas, is that volunteering, and tours, and face-to-face

[855] Ibid., 112-113

engagement with people and projects leads to *empathy*. It makes people and contexts relatable. Mothers meet mothers and farmers meet farmers and they realize that on a fundamental level they share emotions, concerns, and struggles and so can in that sense relate, even if in so many other ways their lives, motherhoods, and farming differ. That spark of empathy, that *relationality*, is a moment of illumination that can inspire a person for a lifetime. And that sort of illumination is the source of advocacy, which is a real source of real change – or, at least, is a practice toward real change that World Renew has been trying to encourage in the church for decades but which has been rejected as too political and too critical; or substituted by enthusiastic financial support. Beginning in the early 1990s, it seems that relationality is a means that World Renew discovered could be flexible and effective enough to meet the sometimes paradoxical demands of the CRCNA.

World Renew's relationship with the church shifted again somewhat in the early 2000s, with the expansion of the CRC's diaconal commission from the responsibility of a few ordained persons to the calling of all Reformed church members to recognize themselves as members of the diaconate of the church. This expansion is framed in pietistic terms, as being stewardly and helping others do the same is "another pathway to heart change, significant living, opening conversations, and relationships that draw people to Jesus as Savior, Redeemer and King."[856] For World Renew as a diaconal organization, these new emphases mean being receptive to and accommodating of new diaconate-based visions of what an individual or congregation can and ought to do in the world. Rather than try to quiet such inclinations by asking people to leave it to the experts, which in many cases would probably be a more efficient use of funds, time, and personnel, World Renew as a CRC agent is responsible for cultivating the growing diaconal spirit of the church. And as it does, so does that spirit feed back into World Renew and into local and regional initiatives.

At the same time, when it comes to the turn to the inside, and how to train the church in consciousness of the outside, there is always in a way a need to "play all sides." In bringing awareness of social justice issues and the underlying causes for hunger and wealth-poverty disparity, World Renew, while in practice embodying a critique (as noted in chapter six, re. ADS), is not permitted to condemn Western wealth and normal lifestyles – even if or when (and this is

[856] Office of Deacon Task Force. "Diakonia Remixed: Office of Deacon Task Force Report to Synod 2013." Christian Reformed Church of North America. <http://www.crcna.org/sites/default/files/Diakonia.pdf> [Accessed 31March2014] p.3

me speaking, not World Renew) these are complicit in global systemic injustices, and even if/though, CRC doctrine understands and states that this type of wealth-poverty disparity exists because of sin, which one would imagine would/ought lead adherents of the doctrine to think seriously about how to combat that body of sinfulness in the world and to examine their place within it. Furthermore, such a tactic would not be entirely wise, since it is out of the wealth of its constituents that World Renew gets a large portion of its funding. This is a catch-22 in which most development organizations find themselves – the capacity for doing aid depending on the ongoing global disparities that require them to have a capacity to do aid.

More particularly conducive to the need and practice of playing all sides, though, is the fact that explicit radical critique is genuinely not the 'reforming' way. Not only does the CRC approach change from a slow, structural angle, the doctrine of common grace also permits sinful things to be means toward holy ends. So in this way there is simply no need, and no call, to employ radical critique, or demand an overturning of status quo or lifestyle. When it comes to the life-faith consistency of the constituency, World Renew's role is, very much, an enabler of both: "A prophetic ministry will impel the people of God to know and perform their stewardship of the world."[857] This is also very much an articulation of the notion of election, or special grace, which enables a distinct sort of relaxedness when it comes to advocacy and/or injustice: the people of God will behave in a stewardly way. Stewardly behavior is both a mark and a sign of election.

Thus we have, stemming from this and in response to tensions, criticism, and warnings from within the church over the years, movements like the abundance of Grow Projects whereby affluent Canadian and American farmers can, rather than give up their own personal wealth – or, more pointedly and realistically, question the global structures which allow their wealth to exist, perpetuate, and have the purchasing and other market power that it does at this particular point in time, as well as question the impact of large-scale agricultural practices on the land and (inter)national marketplace and well-being – participate in a positive practice of giving and community cooperation, that is unquestionably positive for all involved, and which utilizes, even requires, the types of resources that only large-scale farmers in these particular places at this time are able to access. Thus also there is Partners Worldwide, a World Renew initiative that utilizes the talents and advantages of successful North American business people for the benefit of entrepreneurs in the developing world, again, without demanding the consideration of difficult

[857] Acts of Synod 1978. "Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37 (Art. 73)." p.568

questions.

Over time, then, the Kuyperian transformational, reformational view of the relationship of the church to society has come to dominate social justice discourse in the CRCNA, even if the church as a whole remains somewhat divided by puritan pietist and Kuyperian neo-Calvinist tendencies among its members. This discourse is found each year expressed in the World Renew Annual Report to Synod, which is published as part of Synod's annual Agenda and Acts. The 2004 Annual Report cites the 2003 United Nations Development Program [UNDP] Report as stating "that what is needed from the world's rich countries to alleviate the increasing need of the world's poorest countries is policies, not charity. For policies to change in the rich countries," continues World Renew, "the citizens of these countries must understand the issues and act to create change. This is the importance of education. The church, too, has a role in joining with other civil society actors to create change."[858] Civic education and advocacy are the main ways that World Renew encourages the CRC as well as partner churches and communities to engage with social justice issues on a personal or congregational level. For instance, in 2010 "55 churches in the United States and Canada advocated with their government representatives for follow through on the UN Millennium Development Goals," and in Canada, CRC individuals advocated with the government on the issue of refugee reform. This Kuyperian perspective and impetus also fuels increasing civic awareness and responsibility education elsewhere, as part of World Renew's approach to development: "Each year, CRWRC supports new justice projects around the globe, [e.g.] a civic education program in Uganda... teaches community members about their human rights and civic responsibilities."[859] In Kenya as well, as described in chapter six, members of project communities learn not just better agriculture and economic practices, but are made aware of their civic and human rights, as well as how to cultivate just relationships with one another over gender and tribal differences.

It seems to me, then, that in recent years World Renew's strategy of transformation has been reoriented by discourses of Asset Identification, Appreciative Inquiry, and relationship, as a new effort to meet the many demands of the church and world that persist and have grown. Without overtly criticizing or offending, World Renew is gently cultivating advocacy and generating awareness of global disparities; without compromising its work in the field, it is

[858] Agenda for Synod 2004, p.233

[859] Agenda for Synod 2011. "Agencies, Institutions and Ministries: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2011. pp.152, 153

building programs toward constituent transformation and accommodating constituent desires; without proselytizing, it is yet incorporating Kingdom praxis in a strongly Reformed manner, at home and abroad; without preaching revolution or radicalism, it is sowing the seeds for rejection of the status quo by transforming the relationships of the poor with oppressive systems.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined church-based factors and dynamics that have had largely direct effect on the ways that World Renew works in the field and in/with the church. These contingencies affect the ways that it channels and utilizes its various resources, financial and otherwise. These have been and continue to be the formative cycles of World Renew, in and out, a constant turn and return from and to the outside, and to and from the inside, as it works on behalf of the world and the church.

The concluding chapter of this dissertation returns to the subjects of chapters three through six, World Renew's Canadian-Albertan supporters, and its Kenyan partners and partner communities. Using information and analyses from those previous chapters, and from the descriptions of their political economies, I describe the points of view on and expectations of World Renew that these parties tend to have. Following this, with reference to this chapter, I illustrate the practical, on-the-ground ways that World Renew negotiates these influences and demands, while still maintaining its own orientation. This is the summary description of the multilectic's practical outcomes for World Renew's actions: how World Renew has gone about mediating between sides or demands; if/when it must mediate opposing or conflicting views and demands of its work; where or when views and demands cohere. I examine how all of this has manifested in the particular practice and mission of World Renew as a development NGO in Kenya and then, as importantly, discuss what these outcomes look like or mean on the ground for the Kenyan communities and partners with whom World Renew works – the appearance of development in that context, and the influence of faith on development's features.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

"WHY SHOULD MY HEART BE SAD?"[860]: KINGDOM STASIS AND RADICAL POSSIBILITIES

Introduction

The demands coming from various faith contexts to World Renew as a development organization show us that religious beliefs about the world, humans, and what is best for these, do not exist in isolation from non-religious aspects of living. Though World Renew is a faith-based organization, its work is not a necessarily religious work. In this dissertation we see how faith perceives physical and fiscal economies and parlays into them, as ideology is interpreted into embodied practices. Embodied belief does not just take the shapes of recognized rituals, bended knees, folded hands, ingestion of symbolic substances, but is also witnessed in the boarding of planes, the writing of cheques, hammering of nails, distributing of goats, climbing of muddy hills to meetings of women in cold, tin homes; as well as in the sweat, blisters, and ache of digging, one hard shovelful at a time, a water pan in the midst of arid brush. Such practices, in the context of World Renew's work as a faith-based NGO, must be understood as expressions of faith. World Renew is bound in various directions to enable and encourage such expressions, as well as guide constituents and communities toward introducing potential adjustments to such practices. This results in sets of demands on World Renew which can be envisioned as imbricated dialectics of religion and culture. In the first part of this chapter I summarize the demands and influences on World Renew's praxis that I have presented in the preceding parts of this dissertation. In parts two and three I present the methods by which I see World Renew responding to, incorporating, and itself seeking to influence these demands and their sources. I conclude with some reflections on these methods.

I. Demands: From Home, Abroad, and Within

i. CRCNA Demands

This section is short, since it summarizes the points of chapter seven, just completed, which

[860] Line taken from a poem by Maltbie Davenport Babcock, set to music for a hymn in 1915, "This Is My Father's World." The hymn is popular in the CRC and is cited by Synod in its 1979 response to the 1978 Task Force on World Hunger with the line, "…though the wrong seems oft so strong God is the ruler yet…". Quoted on page 328 in chapter seven, and page 396 this chapter.

provides a chronological overview of the origins and development of World Renew as an institution within the CRCNA since 1961. It describes internal and external influences and pressures that have contributed to the church's perceptions of need and poverty and how it ought to respond to those. These perceptions over the decades have been brought to bear on CRWRC/World Renew as various strictures and demands. CRWRC/World Renew has responded to these with debate, self-assessments, reorganization, and conscientious programming.

The basic institutional demands are few in number, but they contain the potential for many prescriptions, criticisms, and evaluations. The broadest conception of World Renew from within the CRCNA is that it is an organized response to the post-Fall state of the world, and to the contract entered into between God and all people through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Its development work is motivated and shaped by soteriological and eschatological underpinnings, which together create a series of practical requirements. Its work as a "committee of deacons" is outlined as community development and disaster relief (international and domestic), and as seeking justice for the marginalized, persecuted, and imprisoned. Its most recent mandate (1986) lists its tasks more specifically as "disaster relief, benevolence, training of deacons, health care, agricultural development, industrial development, literacy training, income generation, socio-economic aid, and the training of nationals for all of these."[861] All of World Renew's tasks are understood to be interconnected, even if they are compartmentalized for cognitive and administrative ease. World Renew is ultimately (at least, in the mundane sphere) responsible to Synod, which must approve its long-term decisions and which World Renew must therefore convince of the appropriately Reformed means and ends of its ministries.[862]

Over the years, World Renew has been periodically asked to incorporate practical and productive responses and solutions to the recurrently diagnosed problem of congregational disinterest and apathy toward issues, specifically, of structural, systemic injustice and, for example, world hunger as linked to such injustices. In 1978, and again in 1991, a Synod-appointed Task Force on World Hunger found a dearth of response and interest, especially in advocacy, among congregations. Both times, the Task Forces suggested in their conclusions that

[861] Agenda for Synod 1986. "Study Committees – World Missions and Relief Commission: Report 37 (WMARC Final Report)." Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1986. p.467

[862] It may be noted that Synod is comprised neither of deacons nor of community development, disaster relief, advocacy, or domestic or international affairs experts or professionals. Rather, it is a gathering of church representatives, largely elders and pastors. This means that World Renew reports to an organization that is all but ideologically (doctrinally) divorced from World Renew's own professional, theoretical, and demographic realities.

World Renew reassess its efforts in constituent engagement. In 1978 the Task Force recommended that World Renew facilitate the work of newly appointed "hunger coordinators" in each church, in order to increase and improve constituent education on hunger and attendant issues. And in 1991 the Task Force reported that despite financial generosity the church was apathetic in areas requiring advocacy for social justice and, in light of this, suggested a reassessment of World Renew's work and strategies.

Critiques and suggestions for the church reported by the Task Forces, however, were overall met coldly by constituents, and this response also had to be taken into account by World Renew as it determined, and continues to determine, the optimum ways to incorporate the needs and desires of the self-examining church. Most notable in this sense was the 1979 Synod response to the 1978 Task Force on World Hunger Report. Synod rejected the Task Force's findings on systemic injustice and the role of global economic history and structures that favor and have favored Western economies. Couched in biblical and Reformed theological terms, the basic gist of the rejection was that it was too critical of the church's affluent members and of the cultures and economic structures that permit such affluence. Synod's response and demand for suitable revisions are reflected in the 1979 Task Force Supplement, which dutifully repeats the admonishments received the year prior, via a list of behavioral and attitudinal expectations for the CRCNA and CRWRC. The CRCNA and its institutions are to demonstrate respect for all people, rich and poor, without judgment, since all Christians struggle within unjust structures. "Guilt trips" over what cannot be changed should be avoided – God holds people responsible for what they have and can control, not for what others have or control. The CRCNA and its institutions are to labor in consciousness of the Kingdom, which is already and not yet. Directly derived from that imperative is the reminder that, since the Kingdom is immanent and imminent (always here and yet arriving), the proper orientation of the church is neither rejection of the world nor apathy toward it, but rather one that seeks to lovingly transform what is, to help it become what it could be; to fulfill its true nature. That is, neither revolution nor passivity, but reform. The doctrine of common grace, notes the Supplement as well, removes the need for radical critique.

The demands that were responded to in 1978 translated into demands for CRWRC and remain standard requirements for World Renew today: be evangelical, edify the church, and avoid radical rhetoric and behaviors that too directly or excessively seek to overturn. All of these are tied to the essential Reformed view of the immanence and imminence of the Kingdom of

God. Though its initial 1961 mandate calls it to minister to both rich and poor because vigilance regarding the perils of affluence is a crucial aspect of recognizing the world's needy and is a mark of election, World Renew is subject to differing interpretations of that duty. On one hand is the interpretation to promote advocacy and self-critique; on the other hand are interpretations that say "don't judge" but instead help the affluent to contribute from where they are. The exercise of this anti-radical option within Reformed thought as a way to discourage critiques of systemic imbalances that favor the wealthy reflects the political economy and culture from within which World Renew and its supporters emerge, and also the CRCNA as a deeply divided and yet united institutional body of faith. (And, too, it reflects the understanding of wealth – personal, institutional, national – as a "blessing," which I address toward the end of this conclusion.) Coming out of and responsible to the current incarnation of the institutional merger of disparate socio-economic histories, including today's, into a single church that still carries forward these disparities, World Renew faces the unique challenge of incorporating concerns and developing activities that are inclusive of the whole CRCNA spectrum, in simultaneous and complementary ways.

ii. Alberta Constituent Demands

The demands of Alberta CRCs on World Renew are a blend of ideological and practical, stemming from circumstance and the particular culture of the CRC as it has developed in Western Canada over time.[863] Alberta CRC demands of World Renew can be organized under three separate but interconnecting themes, having to do with:

1. World Renew as a CRC agency with a bi-directional mandate; that it is both outward and inward-directed, i.e. is meant to be concerned with both development aid and relief, and with developing the diaconal understandings and strengths of CRC constituents.
2. Stewardship and the different emphases and interpretations involved in the use of this important idea within the CRCNA and among its members, for example, the current emphasis on relationship-building in discourse on World Renew and aiding the poor.

[863] To a great extent I think these perspectives and expectations of World Renew can be more or less extended to the CRC in Canada generally, since the Dutch background is shared, as is the particularly Canadian version of pillarization as forms of social engagement. One difference between Alberta and the rest of the CRCNA would likely be found in the level of Reformed radicalism, or tendencies thereto. As far as that can exist in the CRC it would be stronger in Western Canada due to the influx of new, young pastors after the second World War and their influence on the church's social thought. However, over time Synod has exerted a leveling effect, at least over Canada east and west, though the Canada-USA difference remains noticeable (this, itself, says much about the interrelatedness of culture and faith practice).

3. The personal and cultural preferences (desires) or traditions of its denominational supporters.

All of these demands have to be taken seriously by World Renew not just because of its mandate of constituency development, but also because these people are its major source of funding and moral support. Their opinions on the organization therefore matter, whether or not always exactly aligned with the organization's own priorities, goals, and self-understanding. Constituent opinions are very much tied to senses of appropriate Christian – especially appropriate Christian Reformed – behaviors.

One of the broad directives for World Renew as an agent of the CRC is that it be active as a diaconal arm not only globally among the needy, but also within the church, contributing to the strengthening of the church's diaconal practice and self-understanding. This means responding to and developing in positive directions constituent urges and desires to contribute and care for the people and projects that World Renew is involved with overseas. Because for this community so much of this urge emerges in the form of doing, World Renew has to figure out ways to respond to that. At the same time, constituents want to "do" in ways that seem good to *them*, and that, furthermore, personally appeal to them. This adds another dimension to the desires to participate with which World Renew must contend.

Another side of constituent desires is the very strong attachment to World Renew that many CRC congregations feel, especially in Alberta and particularly, by many accounts, in Northern Alberta. This goes hand in hand with understanding World Renew as a proxy for the CRCNA as a denomination called, as a whole, to *diakonia*. People who care about World Renew do so deeply, and are very proud of it as a representative of the church on an institutional and a personal level. They feel a personal, lifeworld-based, attachment to the organization itself, as well as understanding it as an organization that is "the hands and feet of Jesus" – viz., of the church, them, in the world.

Some people see supporting World Renew and being loyal to it as being loyal to the CRC and as meeting their diaconal duty – transmuting their everyday economic tasks and choices into a form of diaconal work by earning money and tithing from it, and always being conscious of that process and obligation. This in a way explains the possessive demands on World Renew's use of donations, expressed in terms of "my money" even after it has been given. When donating to World Renew people feel like they are investing. In turn, they are invested – personally, diaconally, and institutionally – in what World Renew does with "their" money.

So, there are those who want to "go" or actively "be with" beyond "just money"; and there are those who feel that they are doing their duty well by accumulating and contributing money justly, and for a just cause. They have in common the desire to be reassured that good deeds are being done well. The former with their own eyes; the latter by periodic reports assuring them that they and (or through) their money are being put to good work in appropriate ways. People want to know that they are making a difference to the positive, and they want to know that World Renew is representing them and their interests and priorities to the world in a way in which they can have confidence. To this end a consistent, widespread demand is that World Renew be "stewardly." As discussed in detail in chapter four, the value of stewardship is an umbrella term that is interpreted into an array of behaviors and thus an array of demands.

On one hand is the interpretation of stewardship as primarily to do with money and resources, and with prudence, "wisdom," and accountability in their use. For many in the CRC community this side of stewardliness is shown by World Renew through their behaviors of frugality and not "wasting"; high levels of efficiency and effectiveness. These are measured in terms of overhead, administrative costs, handouts, and sustainability. The first three are to be kept low or avoided altogether, and the latter standard (measured in terms of the first three) ought to be high.

Stewardship as resource prudency has not just quantitative, but qualitative, soteriological and eschatological significance for this community. Both resource prudency and these qualitative values tie into stewardship convictions that are described in Kingdom terms such as creation care and the reconciliation of a "broken," "sinful," world to God, a world in which a Christian acts as God's steward – his servant, helper, partner, and image. This combines a frugal attitude toward resources with a restorative attitude toward the world and humankind, an attitude that seeks ultimately to restore human relations with God and seeks to help facilitate that through the "deed" side of word and deed, since word, in the CRC view, does not necessarily take primacy over physical needs. These convictions – which World Renew, as a CRC agent, shares – also mean that stewardship is a non-negotiable request. The restorative aspect of stewardship asks World Renew to employ strategies that are empowering and that raise up the dignity of people.

In chapter four I describe certain countervailing demands on World Renew's use of resources, especially financial, that arise out of the multiple, sometimes conflicting, interpretations of stewardship in the CRC. These demands are also tied to the common condition

among well-intentioned donors of having only partial knowledge of global aid practices and of the realities of working with poor and disaster-stricken people. I will briefly describe some particulars of the difficult situation that this creates for World Renew, before going on to look at demands for World Renew from the partner side of its practice.

One widespread example of countervailing demands is the focus on "low overhead," at the same time as high efficiency, or efficacy. The demand for low overhead comes in part from the idea that overhead and administration are usually areas of institutional overspending that can and should be pared down to a minimum – no fancy offices, personal secretaries, expense accounts, excessive salaries, etc. – so that funding can go "to the needy." This is an imagined, and comparative requirement, based largely on negative press about other NGOs (as well as government). In 1974, for example, the Christian Children's Fund and Foster Parents Plan underwent a highly publicized and damaging examination of how their actual distribution of donations compared to claims in made in fundraising campaigns. Similarly, in 1998, the Chicago Tribune published a multi-part "exposé" on Save the Children Foundation, Childreach, and the Christian Children's Fund, criticizing their child sponsorship advertising and distribution of funds for being misleading, wasteful, and irresponsible, with organizations not knowing who was writing letters, what goods children were and were not receiving, or, in one case, that a sponsored child had actually died but was still somehow sending letters and receiving funds.[864]

Added to this are the news and "shock" pieces that periodically wend their way through email threads and now Facebook, "revealing" the "six-figure salaries" of top earners in

[864] This information would have spread through the CRC quickly, with its comparative appeal (and salaciousness!).
Re. Christian Children's Fund & Foster Parents Plan:
Siddon, Arthur. "Children 'losers' in fund appeals." *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 11, 1974. p.5 <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1974/10/11/page/5/article/children-losers-in-fund-appeals#text>
Re. Save the Children:
Dellios, Hugh. "For Sponsors, Image and Reality Worlds Apart." *Chicago Tribune*, March 15, 1998. np. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1998-03-15/business/9803150056_1_scf-child-sponsorship-despair-and-hope>; Dellios, Hugh, and Lisa Anderson. "Myth Vs. Reality In Africa." *Chicago Tribune*, March 15, 1998. np. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1998-03-15/business/9803150057_1_letters-school-bag-children-federation>
Re. Save the Children, Childreach, CCF:
Zielinski, Graeme, and David Jackson. "At Times, I've Wanted To Turn It Off Too." *Chicago Tribune*, March 15, 1998. np. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1998-03-15/business/9803150059_1_child-sponsorship-childreach-ads>
Relatedly, the 1984 CRWRC report to Synod notes that "Several months ago we were surprised to learn that one evangelical relief organization was spending one third of its budget to raise funds. CRWRC spends about 4.5% of its budget on promotions, and this includes the cost of world hunger education that was mandated by Synod." Acts of Synod 1984. "Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (Art. 112)." Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1984. p.123

international aid organizations.[865] Though these articles are always closely chased by, or even include, disclaimers that explain why certain organizations might consider it a good investment to pay a CEO a quarter of a million (or, usually, fewer) dollars per year, the overall effect of such articles and their counterpart, often ill-informed "scandal" pieces on aid failure or mismanagement, is to maintain a degree of skepticism among people who are interested in contributing to poverty alleviation.

Expectations of low overhead and low administration also arise from misperceptions of how money is used and distributed, and poor knowledge of the processes involved in aid – the fact that efficient and effective aid requires a fairly significant amount of skilled administration. For one thing, if records are kept improperly there is more of a risk that money will be wasted. It can be misappropriated but also, over time, just used ineffectively because processes and outcomes are not well-documented and so an organization cannot know which projects or project aspects could be improved, and how. Further, the amount of administration for which World Renew has to pay is to an extent out of its hands. In order to accomplish what it does it must meet requirements laid out by governments for foreign NGOs, as well as those established by the Government of Canada, by CIDA/Global Affairs, and by any other funders or granting bodies that World Renew relies on to augment the funds it receives from the CRCNA. These processes, again, are significantly administrative tasks.

A further clump of misunderstandings resulting in difficult demands exists regarding how much money World Renew actually has at its disposal for any one project, how donations actually work, and the misperception that World Renew is primarily a disaster relief agency. One of the major sources of misapprehension of how much money World Renew realistically has at its disposal at any one time is donor unawareness of how funds, specifically earmarked funds, work. Any donation that is earmarked, that is, designated by its giver for some particular cause, region, or item, is by law required to be used in that designated way – even if what it has been designated for is no longer needed, and even if there is a great need for donations elsewhere in the same organization. Donations following a disaster are typically earmarked, and this is also typically an NGO's largest influx of funds in a year. While this is a mixed blessing for relief (see section iv, below), for development this can result in less generous donations to the organization's work later

[865] Snopes provides some classic samples of these emails, as well as some corrective information. See Mikkelson, David. "Charitable Compensation." *Snopes.com*, 05 October 2015. <http://www.snopes.com/politics/business/charities.asp> [Accessed 12 May 2016]

in the year, due to assumptions that money is transferrable, or shared.

Finally, low understanding of the realities of both earmarking and development emerges again in view of how people prefer to donate. Dave VanderHeide captured the role that personal preference and desire play for World Renew when it comes to program presentation and fundraising. He talked about how, often, donation preferences arise from a low understanding of the various, sometimes *un*interesting requirements of the work of development. He reflected, "When I look at… how most perceive [aid] and how we want to give aid… we want to [say], 'Oh, I gave that person a cow; I bought them two chickens [or] I gave my money to build a well.' That's a lot more sexy… than 'I gave education, or [farmer field training].'" He went on to comment that he thinks that that is why World Renew's gift catalogue at Christmas does so well. That it meets the desire to be able to see and say precisely to what one is donating, in effect, what one is *purchasing* for someone. The popularity of "sexy" donation options presented as gifts in a catalogue of possibilities to browse reflects a desire for the packaging and commodification of aid and poverty; for these complex, uncomfortable, and unappealing things to be made recognizable and consumable in ways to which one is used. What VanderHeide described is also linked to the well-acknowledged preference to donate money to a cause with which one feels a personal connection, or a particular, vivid empathy.

iii. Kenya Demands

As a Christian NGO in Kenya, World Renew must adhere to the behavioral standards listed in chapter six, but not in precisely the same way as ADS, since World Renew is not nearly as visible in the field. World Renew is more answerable to ADS than to participants. Its obligation to ADS is to enable it to perform its task as a local NGO in the best, most adaptable way possible. Because local context and demands create the parameters for what ADS needs to be able to do, World Renew is also responsible to participants, but once removed. Local demands on ADS translate into demands that ADS places on World Renew, or, the contingent responsibilities of World Renew's relationship to ADS.

To quickly recap, the demands on ADS that I listed in chapter six as having specific cultural provenance are as follows:

<u>General</u>

- trustworthy, accountable, no "cheating," transparent, working toward sustainability or a long-term goal, reliable

Specific (ADS) i.e., project and organizational traits

- lead toward community (and personal) empowerment (Asset Identification)
- cultivate "spiritual development" – the goal of changing minds
- no handouts
- reasonable but strict requirements for group and individual contributions
- holistic, sustainable processes and end goals
- make use of local staff and local knowledge
- have ties to known, trusted, local institution (e.g. the ACK)
- plan long-term, close-range projects with multiple stages that are transparent to the community
- exceed minimum requirements for project management and accomplishment
- prevent and avoid corruption in self and others
- cultivate strong relationships with CBOs and SHGs

Specific (SHGs/CBOs)

- abstain from alcohol and cigarettes
- organization; punctuality, self-discipline
- helping others; reaching out
- fair economic practices (wages, prices, payments)
- sexual mores
- proper, respectful use of human and natural resources
- respect self and others
- stable relationships: personal (family) and social (group; business)

In addition to these behavioral demands, the socio-economic contexts in which Kenyan participants live and within which they identify assets and try to mitigate obstructions create specific sorts of demands for ADS as an NGO. Besides behavioral codes that prove its trustworthiness, ADS needs to be able to address socio-economic issues that are of particular importance in the areas where it works. It needs, in other words, to devise, offer, and implement locally effective strategies and programming. This translates into the necessity of particular types of expertise and attention from World Renew. The fact that World Renew knows ahead of time that this is what will be requested of it and that it is equipped to meet these demands does not alter the fact that this type of demand constitutes an unmoving parameter within the influences under discussion here.

By providing these goods World Renew contributes to the important process of ADS's legitimation as a Christian – viz. trustworthy – organization. It helps ADS meet the meaningful requirements for these things in the context that is its *habitus*. For the groups with which ADS works, ADS's reputation as trustworthy translates into multiple and exponential spheres and senses of empowerment and dignity. With the help of World Renew ADS is able to make and keep promises and commitments, and see projects through to the point they will bear fruit. ADS is able to "prove" its Christianity – an asset for ADS that extends well beyond any particular project or contract – and is able to demonstrate that certain negative practices can be changed; that authority and wealth, for example, do not necessarily correlate. In multiple ways, World Renew helps ADS distinguish itself from other NGOs and FBNGOs, and from other people or organizations that claim authority.

In order to accomplish this – to meet ADS's demands – World Renew must replicate the types of behavior that are required of ADS by community members. The World Renew-ADS partnership is mutual, but ADS relies on World Renew in order to be able to fulfill its obligations to World Renew, as well as to the communities. In this sense, like ADS for community groups, World Renew fills the risk-mitigation role described in chapter six by being itself a low-risk partner for ADS, in opposition to other donors or partners who have undermined ADS's progress and capacity. World Renew must be reliable: dependable, consistent, and timely. They must do what they say they will, and they must practice what they preach (so to speak).

Like ADS helps groups negotiate change by offering low- and mitigated-risk ventures in a high risk context, so World Renew mitigates risks that ADS might endure for stepping off of the beaten path of top-down development praxis. World Renew provides ADS the chance to do things a different way, to have "the opportunity to experiment with a small amount of risk."[866] Like the self-help groups and community-based organizations, this helps ADS build confidence and optimism, part of the process of transformation and sustainability at both the organizational and community level. As the communities demand of ADS, then, so ADS needs from World Renew a partnership that is long-term, flexible, dependable, and consistent.

Also like the community groups with whom ADS works and who may simultaneously be involved in projects run by other NGOs, including ones offering handouts, ADS works with

[866] Duflo, Esther. "Hope as Capability." Part Two of Tanner Lectures: Human Values and the Design of the Fight Against Poverty. Cambridge, MA: Mahindra Humanities Center, Harvard University, May 2012.

multiple donors at a time, some of which may "cheat" them. Both World Renew and ADS are challenged to surpass these other organizations in appeal and performance in order to demonstrate that their strategies are worth maintaining. In both situations this challenge is met by talking to community members and talking to ADS, to get their perspective, their knowledge, and their wisdom. This information is then used to design programs and engage with communities in ways that, over time, cannot but expose the weaknesses of other approaches and the benefits of World Renew's / ADS's sustainable strategies.

In order to work with and facilitate ADS's necessary requirements for reputation and programming World Renew must, like ADS, be ecumenical and inclusive, non-partisan and apolitical (as far as possible). It cannot demand proselytization as part of development practice, and it cannot demand that people support any political party or leader. For World Renew, like ADS, this is not a difficult set of needs, since these standards are not just contextual but also part of World Renew's faith-based approach to development regardless. This open-handedness on World Renew's part is an aspect of praxis rooted in its Reformed provenance that incidentally proves a boon to its work in many contexts where NGOs, funding organizations, and religions have attempted to translate their power into various sorts of illegitimate authority.

iv. Other Influences: Funding, NGOs, Goals

One of the major issues that World Renew has to negotiate and which is intrinsic to its status as a small NGO is funding. Funding issues link with constituent demands as well as the Kenyan context, and they are also congenital to World Renew's status as a development agency. Within questions of acquiring and utilizing funding are questions of fundraising strategy, problems and issues of the general economic context (e.g. shifts in government; economic downturns; inflation), and the complicated relationship between relief and development needs and donations. In addition is the larger NGO context within which World Renew is situated and to which it is responsive in several ways, an influence that is unavoidable for any NGO.

Particular to World Renew are its own goals are for constituent response and engagement, and its goals and priorities for partnerships. The notion of transformation is key among the values adhered to in the process of achieving these goals, a motivating and guiding rubric for World Renew as it negotiates demands from various corners in a way that allows it to be productive and maintain its integrity as both a Reformed pillar and an aid organization. This section outlines these themes – funding, NGO context, and goals – of World Renew's organizational necessities,

self-perceptions, and orientation to its tasks, and concludes the first half of this chapter.

Funding

One of World Renew's most significant funding decisions was the 1962 committee decision to forego ministry shares, the mandatory financial support of CRC agencies by individual churches through offerings. Instead, it decided to cultivate voluntary giving and other, outside funding. While I have been unable to find conclusive evidence of the rationale behind this, a number of explanations make sense. First, cultivating voluntary donations from the constituency is a way to ensure that World Renew and the CRCNA membership do not become complacent about one another. It forces World Renew to find ways to keep members aware and invested and, likewise, forces World Renew to keep abreast of the state of the CRCNA's community conscience. Second, refusal of quota to a degree frees World Renew from certain demands or strictures that the church might seek to implement. Though, as we have seen, its role as developer of both constituent and partner well-being creates certain contextual constraints, these are different than the specific, directorial power that the CRCNA could wield if it were also a guaranteed source of funding for World Renew. Third, successful acquisition of outside funding is perceived by donors and funders both within and outside of the church as a measure of World Renew's success and effectiveness as a development organization, which in turn forces it to remain abreast of and relevant in its field. Financial robustness is additionally perceived by the church as a measure of God's blessings on World Renew's work and approach, and so functions to inspire continued or even increased giving and support.

After over fifty years, World Renew's annual budget is now in the tens of millions of US dollars. From year to year, approximately half (give or take a million or so) of World Renew's funding comes from churches and individuals, and half from outside organizations. This latter half, however, is achieved in significant part by leveraging the donations from churches and individuals. Therefore World Renew's fundraising strategy is largely oriented to cultivating sources comprised of the people and institutions I described in chapters four and seven. This means a number of things. It means that World Renew's funding is in many ways subject to the same forces that affect the incomes and donating capacity or inclinations of donors. The mid-1980s, for example, saw a drop in constituent donations to CRWRC. While this was interpreted by the church (and subsequent Task Forces) as signifying a diminished level of concern for diaconal issues, it should also be noted that there was an economic recession in the eighties that

strongly affected income and spending (giving) capacity. In light of this, the consistency of donations over this period is actually quite remarkable, and it would not be surprising to me if Task Force recommendations received negative congregational response in part because members felt insulted with regard to their financial struggles and sacrifices.

Cultivating private sources also means that World Renew has to present itself in ways that appeal to non-experts, and that address concerns and perceptions that they might have. Fred Witteveen explained that church giving tends to require the implementation of more emotive fundraising strategy, in response to the prevalence of what he called "emotions-based donating." This is when people give according to the dictates of their hearts rather than the dictates of efficiency or practicality, and justify this by citing, for example, the notion that love and ministry function according to different rules and cannot or ought not be bound to quantitative constraints. This presents a dual irony, in that, as Witteveen pointed out, these same people would never conduct their personal finances this way; nor do they permit World Renew this type of leeway in its financial conduct.

The tendency toward emotions-based giving, continued Witteveen, is problematic for World Renew's actual functioning in a number of ways. For one, church money involves many individual influences, which makes it less productive, because education about donating and spending is required before funds can be used or disbursed in a way that satisfies everyone. Peoples' views about money and the use of donations come from a variety of interests, and so a significant part of World Renew's fundraising strategy involves the management of interests from year to year, so that donations will continue. To Witteveen, the more transparent the motives for giving, the easier they are to manage. It is important, he said, to be really clear about what people want from the donations they make, but World Renew also has "to ask at the end of the day whether [it has] achieved [its own] mission."

The tendency for donations to be "from the heart" – a theme explored in chapter four via the ideas of empathy and connection – produces another set of funding-related complications, which is one with which any NGO doing both development and relief must contend. Already in 1977, CRWRC reported to Synod that "the distinction between disaster and long-term needs is not always clearly delineated" in descriptions of the organization's work and (thus) funding needs. [867] The loose comprehension of World Renew's work, and the connections and

[867] Acts of Synod 1977. "Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (Arts 43, 45, 46)." Grand Rapids,

disconnections between development and relief can be traced, both paradoxically and ironically, to the high levels of trust that people have in the organization.

Most (if not all) of my interviewees professed a tremendous amount of trust in, and respect for, World Renew and the work that it does. Very few take any issue with it. Many were more likely to proclaim their general ignorance of the issues and contexts with which World Renew grapples, some even going so far as to state that it is because of their trust in World Renew's expertise that they feel a freedom to simply donate and not concern themselves with very much personal knowledge of its work.

This relaxed enthusiasm, however positive a reflection on World Renew's reputation, can also become a problem for the organization. People donate without understanding how the organization's funding works. This occurs most frequently when donors or individuals seek to respond to disasters, and choose to do so through their favored organization, World Renew. While they may have quiet faith in World Renew year-round and believe in the value of all of World Renew's many projects, it is in the wake of a disaster that the impulse to donate is galvanized. Because of this, while community development projects often struggle for funds, disaster relief tends to accrue a large amount of funding at a time. Sometimes this is to a point of excess, and extra effort may even be required to make sure the money is spent with as much care as if it were a smaller amount.

As mentioned, what donors tend not to realize is that money they donate for a disaster cannot be used by World Renew to make ends meet in any of its other projects. The huge influx of funds that often follows a disaster can lead to difficulties for an organization that is trying to both legally *and* efficiently (helpfully, accountably, sustainably) use all of these funds. A sudden large incursion of funds for humanitarian work can disrupt development work that is ongoing. It requires either different, that is, more or new, staff, or else requires existent staff to do work for which they are not trained or sensitized. It also, as discussed in chapter six, presents a difficult circumstance for communities who are in the process of empowerment but who are still accustomed to taking advantage of handouts when offered. It can disrupt development routines, and create jealousies and resentments among staff, since relief budgets are so much bigger than development ones. Finally, it can cause difficulties by leading to donor fatigue and reduced

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MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1977.

donations for other parts of World Renew's work, since people feel that they have already sufficiently donated to World Renew.

The example of donations marked for earthquake disaster relief in Haiti in 2010 is representative. Edwin Dening, who worked in development in Haiti for fifteen years, part of that with CRWRC, explained what a sudden large influx of funds can do, speaking in particular of the recent aftermath of massive aid donations to Haiti:

> … imagine having a team of four or five people, right, and all these nice little development programs. And then all of a sudden, 'Oh, by the way, we just got ten million dollars for you. How are you going to spend it?' […] That's a disaster in itself, right? Because then they have to hire piles of staff, and they have to come up with creative ways to use it … that [don't] kill the rest of what you were trying to do. […] [Existing staff] do the regular programs still; but then they have all this extra money, so then they tack on a whole staff for that. And they at least do that well, now. In the past, it used be, 'Here's another ten million, learn how to spend it,' and they don't give you any extra people. And that turns into a disaster. …we've had lots of projects in Central America where that's happened, and all these people just burn out, they can't deal with it. […] If I gave you ten million dollars today and said, '…Do something concrete with it. And don't wreck the community you're living in.' So, 'Don't create any dependency, but …you have to have it spent in less than three years.' That's a challenge. I mean, it's easy to buy a house, and buy a couple trucks and stuff. But that doesn't take that much money. And then you still have nine million. *laughs* […] And then there's disaster after disaster, so people get used to handouts, because there's so much money…. Money is often the cause of many problems.

Because NGOs are legally bound to utilize funds in the ways they have been earmarked, even for destinations as broad as "Haiti Earthquake Relief," permission must be obtained from donors if an NGO wants to transfer funds elsewhere. This can be difficult, for example, when funds are initially given in the form of multiple ten and twenty dollars gifts to a general relief offering. Therefore organizations have to get creative. This is a positive response to adversity, but it is also a huge amount of work in areas that World Renew might not otherwise choose as sustainable locations for partnerships.

In Haiti, because of the massive excess of funds donated for disaster relief, World Renew ended up using "leftover" funds to start disaster recovery related development projects there. While no one would begrudge the beneficiaries of these projects, one can nonetheless observe how blind enthusiasm can end up forcing World Renew's hand in certain circumstances. Perhaps, for example, now is not the best time to begin such projects in Haiti, given its government's instability. Perhaps, alternately, there had been other projects, already established, that were in

need of funding but which now, because people had already donated so generously to World Renew, would end up falling short.

Such cases do not come from a desire to control World Renew, or from purposeful manipulation of its funding or projects. They emerge, rather, oppositely, out of an implicit trust in World Renew and its highly regarded capacity to properly and responsibly manage resources that come to it, in an appropriate Christian (Reformed) manner and spirit. This practice can create a difficult bind for World Renew. On one hand CRC donors feel confident that their money "will go where it is intended"; but at the same time those intentions can be misguided.

NGO Context

The overall NGO context also influences how World Renew is able to utilize funds it receives. The World Renew handbook, *Partnering to Build and Measure Organizational Capacity*, states, as number five in its list of factors influencing the shift toward capacity-driven strategy, that "financial stringency and a pervasive skepticism about development impact are putting organizations under increasing pressure to demonstrate results and dollar value to a variety of stakeholders. Issues focusing on accountability, program performance and measurement, and organizational control are becoming increasingly important in the international development debate."[868] Fred Witteveen confirmed this shift, explaining that "the whole development sector has gone from very low accountability – donors used to just pass NGOs and governments blank cheques – to very high accountability, meaning now most money is pre-designated, usually for relief, and has to be accounted for in detail." As well, relief has much more dramatic, quantifiable, and straightforward standards for assessment than does development aid. Essentially, if the relief was distributed then it was a success. This is not so for development, and the complex goals of development are further obfuscated by a lack of long-term assessment of (what are hoped to be) sustainable efforts.

A second major complicating area of the overall NGO context is at the partner level. This is discussed at length in chapter six, regarding the ramification of the bad behaviors of other NGOs, but it is also of consequence for World Renew's ability to fund projects in a consistent and informed manner. Partners submit proposals to any likely funding agencies that are available.[869]

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[868] Johnson, Scott, and James D. Ludema (eds.) Partnering to Build and Measure Organizational Capacity: Lessons from NGOs Around the World. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee, 1997. p.8

[869] Jane Gitonga (ADSMKE): "What we do is we write proposals according to the baseline surveys that we have carried out. … Because we will not get funding with no objective, and specific activities to do. [Proposals are

This means that World Renew is always working hand in invisible hand with other, probably unknown, and possibly incompatible, organizations. This situation can alter the circumstances and possibilities of a partnership into which World Renew enters. In a similar way, World Renew itself may be required to meet conditions of funding that it has acquired from large outside donors, such as USAID or the EU. Overlapping and cross-cutting goals and conditions decreed by the layers of funding bodies and their contracts adds yet another layer and type of contextual intricacy to World Renew's position as one NGO among many.

Constituency Goals

While World Renew may be concerned out of necessity with cultivating constituent interest in donating, especially to underfunded areas of their work, its role is also one of edifying the CRC community about issues of wealth and poverty in the world. As much as financial, it seeks to raise interest in and moral support for the goals it sets for itself and its partners, and for the church. In the words of Stephan Lutz,

> We want the CRC constituency to respond consciously. Not just, 'Oh, CRWRC is this organization and I don't know much about what they do, but here's my dollars,' you know? I think we'd rather have somebody say, 'I understand, for the most part,' and of course not everybody – you cannot get everybody – but if you can get a critical mass, I guess, of people in the CRC, in the next ten, twenty years, who will say, 'I understand, and I'm responding'; and for them also to be engaged. It's not just about giving money, it's about engaging.

World Renew wants churches to engage with helping people in their own locales, for example people who have had disaster-related crises, refugees, immigrants, and locally marginalized people. This type of engagement is intrinsically valuable, earns respect for the denomination, and cultivates an unselfish, other-oriented attitude toward aid and helping, which is good for World Renew, too.[870]

Partnership Goals

One of World Renew's most clearly stated organizational positions is its intentions vis à vis partners, and partnership as a strategy for sustainability and transformation. Again, *Partnering to Build and Measure* provides a succinct explanation of World Renew's decision to employ the partnership model, moving away from traditionally asymmetrical models of development

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submitted to agencies] whose interests are in line with what the needs of the communities are."

[870] A historical model for this is found on World Renew's website, in the story of CRC ministry to Cuban refugees in Miami in the early 1960s: "Being a Good Samaritan to Refugees in Miami." <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/being-good-samaritan-refugees-miami> [Accessed 17 September 2015]

practice:

> The values of efficiency and effectiveness have often been behind the strategies of many Northern NGOs. In a colonial relationship the main concern is the efficiency of projects. How much can be achieved with the least resources? […] In a collaborative partnership, the concern is for the long-term efficiency and effectiveness of the partnership, not just each partner. How can each partner increase its sustainable impact?[871]

In other words, World Renew's partnership goal is to challenge hierarchies and assumptions of wealth-based power such as those described in chapter six, while utilizing resources in a way that is careful and that respects the dignity of all agents. It is also to increase the capabilities and effectiveness of partner organizations and staff, an increase which is passed on to participants, benefiting communities. Partnerships are intended to be mutually beneficent, challenging, and strengthening; to improve the performance of both parties. For the local partner the end goal is to achieve autonomy and be able to in turn strengthen other organizations in the same way they have been strengthened. For World Renew it is to become increasingly equipped – with both knowledge and reputation – to partner fruitfully with other local NGOs.

Fred Witteveen described the relationship as not just about financial support but as being about "value-added capacity building." World Renew has a particular, transformative vision for their partners. It is not just a funding organization, but also seeks to shape the vision and goals of their partners. If World Renew cannot add this kind of value, it is not appropriate for them to begin partnerships or projects. Likewise, he continued, if partners aren't contributing to "transformation on the ground" then the partnership isn't working. It's about change, and progress that is visible and evidenced (e.g. witnessed to by community members).

As noted in chapter seven, the central means by which World Renew executes this envisioned partnership is through Organizational Capacity Indicators (OCI) in combination with Asset Identification. OCI is, again, an organizational development strategy premised in part on the idea that a partner organization itself is best equipped to identify its own strengths and weaknesses. World Renew's role is to help its partners through this process and then be there with the expertise to enable them to enhance their capacity. Key values in the workings of partnership and the OCI system are mutuality and trust, which together support the movement toward empowerment, or transformation.[872] "Ownership" is a prerequisite for such transformation,

[871] Johnson and Ludema, 57

[872] It seems to me that OCI would also be an appropriate model for discussing and approaching constituent

meaning that World Renew's partners have to be stakeholders in the vision of change. They need to be part of the process of designing their own road to transformation, of envisioning the specifics of the positive reconstruction.

At times, a partner's movements toward the transformation that World Renew envisions can be hindered by the funding practices and aid approaches of organizations other than World Renew. The availability of outside money and resources can make it difficult to convince people of the higher value of finding resources locally or within themselves, or of diversifying resources in order to move toward self-sufficiency. Staff, for instance, often tend, understandably, to chase money and not a vision, because their jobs depend on the money coming in, and good jobs are hard to come by. Like dependent communities, though, NGOs can be left stranded by changing donor priorities or a loss of external funding. Therefore it is in their own long-term interest to end dependency on outside resources, including World Renew.[873]

Like truly sustainable community development and like, I believe (and will argue in part three), the achievement of deep empathy among constituents, organizational development through partnership is an embodied, internalized, shift in an organization's perceptions of itself, its self-worth, goals, and fundamental abilities, including what it is truly able to accomplish. It is a change of perspective on what is, and on what is possible.

II. World Renew's Responsive Praxes

Among the requirements placed on World Renew by various actors, some are obviously compatible with others, for instance the desire for sustainable and effective programming shared by Albertans, by Kenyans, and by World Renew itself. Even the demand for frugality, though at times a source of frustration, in the long run creates a more sustainable, self-reliant type of development, out of necessity and in combination with World Renew's own goal of increasing partnerships and meeting demands for its services. Complications arise however, when, for instance, at the same time as being sustainable and forward-moving with low overhead, World

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transformation, but as far as I know it is not currently used in this direction by World Renew.

[873] Some partners have viewed this goal, and its achievement, as bad funding behavior on the part of World Renew, for example Canon Zacheus Masake of the Anglican Church in Kakamega, Western Region, who has served on the ADS board there, described what he found to be funding-related "constraints" in the partnership: "Because the funds were reducing as we were going along. And yet the demands of work, the demands of reports, the demands of [this and that] were increasing. So you find that, at one point you think, 'With all this kind of participation that we have, the funds do not match it.' Because their funds were spare. […] We didn't understand why they had to do that [fund multiple regions]. …I would put it this way, my take would be: they would [*sic*; should?] have actually gotten more funds. Then they would give more funds. [If?] Those were the only funds they had, then, they would have put it in one project, [rather] than spreading it so thinly."

Renew also has to facilitate volunteers, visitors, and other congregational preference-based modes of contributing.

World Renew's management of the often conflicting demands that are placed on it by the various agents that are vital to the organization's life has developed over time into a finely tuned network of public relations, collaborations, investments, and multi-purpose programming. These are constantly finessed and adjusted, in accordance with the shifting needs and desires of World Renew, its partners, developing nations, and the CRCNA.

To try to share a glimpse of this responsive management at work, in this section I describe certain of World Renew's programs, and show how they meet the needs, or demands, of various contexts at once. In this examination a number of unlikely, and likely unexpected, outcomes reveal themselves as arising out of the particular confluence of circumstances created by the wills and powers that are at work in the set of relations that this dissertation describes. Some of the ways that faith affects development practice in this study will also become more clear.

i. Domestic

World Renew approaches the edification and inclusion of the CRC constituency and institution via two broad methods: education and facilitation. These balance each other and meet the various demands of this side of its organizational role.

Education

World Renew's work of constituent education is an ongoing effort to mitigate misperceptions, misunderstandings, and misinformation, and to negotiate and manage often misguided but yet insistent efforts to "do" good. Rather than attempt to eliminate these things, World Renew's task is to try to minimize negative effects they may have on peoples' support and expectations, and on World Renew's reputation in the church. This is the negative work of education, working to combat existent tendencies. It is accomplished through careful church relations work, distributing very conscientiously edited publications;[874] and also through cultivating "ambassadors" throughout the CRCNA: people who are knowledgeable and enthusiastic about the work, and who take it upon themselves, as part of their diaconal responsibility, to keep the church body informed and engaged.[875] This program overlaps with positive education that goes beyond the corrective, creating and opening new horizons of awareness and concern within the church body.

[874] World Renew. "Our Stories." <http://worldrenew.net/stories> [Accessed 02 October, 2015]

[875] World Renew. "Become an Ambassador." <http://www.worldrenew.net/become-ambassador> [Accessed 02 October, 2015]

World Renew's goal of positive education, "to engage congregations in Bible-based, justice-related activities" is in part accomplished via its Congregational Justice Mobilization program, a collaboration between World Renew and the CRCNA Office of Social Justice and Hunger Action.[876]

World Renew's online collection of first person stories from around the world – from CRC members, World Renew staff, partner staff, and project communities – is carefully curated for maximum educational and sympathetic effect. It is an ingenious method for explaining what World Renew does and why, to people who are unlikely to read or be drawn in by theory and data, but do enjoy narratives and the sense of personal connection. The stories describe and explain facets of World Renew's work from gender awareness and equality,[877] the work of IRMs,[878] and why advocacy matters, to stories from the history of CRWRC/World Renew, and narratives about volunteering and short-term missions.[879]

World Renew's education programming also encourages advocacy, success stories about which can be plugged back in for use as promotion. For instance, "To Do Justice and to Love Kindness" relates the tale of a letter-writing campaign that succeeded in protecting subsistence farmers from the predations of Office de Niger, a "development" organization that sought to remove farmers from their lands in Mali. The campaign resulted in Millennium Challenge funding being rerouted to a project that not only allowed people to keep their lands, but also supported new irrigation and housing initiatives in the same area. "The best part of the story," goes the article, "is that [one particular World Renew staff member] has been working with these people for twenty years, and she told us that this is one of the best opportunities they've had to build trust for sharing the gospel."[880] This gentle gambit for advocacy not only shows the kind of difference that the practice can make but also, by tying it in with the gospel or "word" side of

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[876] Agenda for Synod 2013. "Agencies, Institutions, and Ministries: World Renew." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2013. p.177

[877] Mutoigo, Ida Kaastra. "The Feminization of Poverty." World Renew. March 20, 2013. <http://worldrenew.net/our-stories/team/ida-kaastra-mutoigo/feminization-poverty> [Accessed 02 October 2015]

[878] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "Called to Be Sent." World Renew. September 17, 2012. < http://worldrenew.net/our-stories/called-be-sent> [Accessed 02 October 2015]

[879] World Renew. "CRWRC Internship Forges Friendship for Life." February 20, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/crwrc-internship-forges-friendship-life> [Accessed 02 October 2015]; Ibid. "The Power of Volunteers." April 15, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/power-volunteers> [Accessed 02 October 2015]
These narratives are, as well, a way of engaging with and informing the ongoing debate about such programs.

[880] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "To Do Justice and to Love Kindness." October 3, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/our-stories/do-justice-and-love-kindness> [Accessed 02 October 2015]

World Renew's work, directs an argument toward those who see advocacy as outside of the church's purview. World Renew also promotes advocacy on policy and funding toward HIV/AIDS issues through its Embrace AIDS education and awareness work; on issues of refugee reform in Canada, which has become an ongoing sphere of domestic activism for the Canadian CRC; and it promotes letter-writing campaigns to national governments about such things as the UN Millennium Development Goals and foreign aid funding promises.

Besides its intrinsic values and its use for motivating people to care, education and awareness raising is also a fundraising strategy. The more constituents understand World Renew's work and the processes and complexities involved, the stronger their sense of investment becomes. Besides online stories and in-church promotion, World Renew cultivates this kind of understanding through participant education programs and experiences, at home and overseas. Such programs are intended to create "…catalysts (people who create action)… people whose hearts have been opened by the Spirit, [and who] energize others to create change for their communities."[881]

Initiated as a way to stimulate in-church education and awareness, these programs perform quadruple duty. They are a source of stories, and thus publicity; they galvanize fundraising in home churches; and they accommodate the desire to personally and physically go, do, and be with. Thus programs like Discovery Tours, but also Disaster Response Services, International Relief Managers, and other short-term volunteer opportunities are savvily designed to meet a number of needs at once.

Facilitation

World Renew's major work of facilitation is in the areas of "volunteering," "visiting," and "supporting." Volunteering or visiting refers to the desire to go abroad and participate in the work World Renew does, whether by working or observing. "Support," besides donating, refers to work that people want to do while remaining at home: special projects, special church group relationships with villages, fundraising, earmarked donations, etc. These desires are connected to the original establishment of World Renew as a diaconal organization, combined with the recent expansion of the diaconal commission in the CRC to include all Reformed church members. As the CRC's international diaconal agent, World Renew is responsible for its own work as well as

[881] Agenda for Synod 2003. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2003. p.193.
See also Agenda for Synod 2013, 177.

for cultivating the diaconal spirit of the constituency.

Its response to diaconal ideas and impulses of congregants has in large part involved the negotiation of requests to volunteer, domestically and overseas. Volunteers are coordinated as much as possible through ServiceLink, the volunteer service program of the CRCNA,[882] and through the "bridger program" established in 2007. The aim of the latter program is "to create effective collaboration between local communities and North Americans by facilitating volunteer and tour visits to the field."[883] By mid-2008 there were five people employed as "bridgers," one each in Honduras, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Uganda.

For disaster response involvement, World Renew facilitates three options. Domestically, World Renew works with churches to help them sponsor refugees. This is a long-term response to crises in other parts of the world. Also domestic is short term volunteering through DRS, which responds to natural disasters in North America with counseling, clean-up, and reconstruction. This is popular with retirees, because of their flexible schedules and formidable skill sets, but is open to anyone. While overseas relief programming is done mainly through local partners and other existent and local NGOs, World Renew does employ medium term volunteer services in the form of IRMs. These people, usually a couple, manage "the logistics of projects with budgets ranging from $500,000 to two million." In a story on their website, World Renew's Director of Disaster Response and Rehabilitation is quoted as saying, "Having IRMs is a crucial component of our disaster response ministry… When disasters strike, we have trained, qualified people who can go and manage the details for us. We would not have been able to respond as quickly and effectively to recent disasters… without our IRMs."[884]

Given the amount of time that World Renew has spent arguing and advocating for national staff and national ownership of projects, such a statement seems paradoxical, at least. However, in an article directed toward constituents who might volunteer or, alternatively, critique the practice, encouraging IRMs as "ambassadors" and "catalysts" contributes to a picture of the CRCNA as truly "at work" in helping the disaster-stricken.

It also coheres with other published rationales for encouraging short- and medium-term missions, volunteering, and youth experiences. "The Power of Volunteers" describes volunteering

[882] http://www.crcna.org/servicelink
[883] Agenda for Synod 2008. "Unified Report of Agencies and Service Committees: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2008. p.145
[884] VanderBerg, "Called to Be Sent."

as "an enriching and amazing experience," quoting a Global Volunteer Program Senior Coordinator as saying, "volunteers are equipped for experiences that will change their lives. At the same time, CRWRC [World Renew] is able to benefit from the time, skills, and experiences that these volunteers have to offer." The same article cites Ida Mutoigo, Director of World Renew Canada, as stating, "While there is an ongoing debate in society as to whether volunteers or short-term mission participants are more of a cost or benefit, [World Renew] has experienced significant positive results from its volunteers. We have also seen God at work changing the lives of volunteers as they serve Him, deeply inspired by the faith and fellowship of Christians they serve with around the world."[885] Another article, "CRWRC Internship Forges Friendship for Life," describes the benefits of overseas volunteering for volunteers, including a deepened commitment to social justice, a stronger empathy and respect for the poor, seeing the Christian faith in new dimensions, and finding more solid footing within the church.[886]

Despite documented and first person accounts of difficulties that volunteering creates for World Renew staff, projects, and resources and that it can create for poor communities working toward sustainability and self-reliance; and despite gainsays of claims about the benefits of volunteering for volunteers and the church (as described in chapter four), World Renew clearly has reasons for wanting to nonetheless encourage and meet the impulse to volunteer.

At the same time as supporting the traditional volunteer format and experience, it has over the last decade begun to promote "A Different Kind of Volunteer Experience." These experiences, Discovery Tours, "invite people to go overseas and see the ministry of God first hand." They "are modeled on trips that World Renew and CRWM encouraged deacons and church representatives to take in the 1980s. …church diaconal conference representatives [were invited] to visit program sites, learn what was happening on the field, and then go back to North America and share [with] their church classis. Many of these church representatives came back changed."[887] One woman who went to the Dominican Republic in 1986, for example, is cited as crediting that visit with her own daughter's later choice to become a missionary with CRWM in Nicaragua.

While providing many of the appealing aspects of volunteering, and also offering the same life-changing potential, Discovery Tours avoid the negative sides of short-term volunteering

[885] World Renew, "The Power of Volunteers."
[886] World Renew, "CRWRC Internship Forges Friendship for Life."
[887] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "A Different Kind of Volunteer Experience." World Renew. October 23, 2012. < http://worldrenew.net/our-stories/different-kind-volunteer-experience> [Accessed 02 October 2015]

– invasive, resource-draining, showing few sustainable results, and probably not life-changing – while still maintaining the positive. Such programming design responds to those who think volunteering is worthwhile despite its downsides, and also to those who might critique such tours as an "inefficient" use of resources. Those who participate in these opportunities are expected to speak about their experiences at local churches, and to become local champions of World Renew's work overseas. Tours are a fundraising strategy as much as a facilitation of constituent desires. Tours also play a significant role in World Renew's larger goal of constituent transformation, which topic I return to later in this chapter.[888]

Finally, World Renew's facilitation of constituent preferences is also visible in the establishment of Partners Worldwide, initiated after a group of North American business people traveled to Kenya for a first hand look at projects they were supporting through CRWRC. One visitor asked whether there could be "a way for business people to become personally involved and use their… expertise [and] skills to become part of the solution to ending poverty, instead of being seen as part of the problem."[889] In true Kuyperian form, this question, and the utilization of the business skills that followed, interprets "business and entrepreneurship as an outstanding Christian calling vital for God's kingdom to be fulfilled."[890] Consistent with the impulse to "do" and the reluctance to be involved in advocating for change in, and from within, the domestic sphere (a role to which well-connected and driven business people actually seem particularly suited), this impulse focuses on helping the poor change practices in their own lives.

Besides volunteering and visiting, World Renew also facilitates "support": people who want to help from home, through group initiatives, funding, project creation, and the act of partnership or relationship. World Renew offers two programs that facilitate these in particular, its Ministry Partnership Program, and its Global Partnership Program.[891] Both of these connect churches with World Renew's work overseas; the first connects an individual or church to World

[888] World Renew also often facilitates unexpected visits from individuals who are "in the area" (e.g. Nick Scott interview; and I also observed this several times during my time in Kenya) and would like to see some of their work, without really knowing what that entails. World Renew obliges as much as it is able. This is not to say that it is viewed as an imposition by World Renew, I do not know about that; only to say that this is part of what it does, as part of the CRC, despite its limited budget, small staff, and large amount of work.

[889] World Renew. "Business as Ministry for a World without Poverty: The Story of Partners Worldwide." May 13, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/business-ministry-world-without-poverty-story-partners-worldwide> [Accessed 02 October 2015]

[890] Agenda for Synod 2003, 167

[891] Ministry Partnership Program <http://www.worldrenew.net/mpp>
Global Partnership Program <http://www.worldrenew.net/globalpartnership>

Renew's work, and the second is a church-to-church connection, between a North American congregation and one overseas. As stated, special interest groups need World Renew to interact with communities on their behalf, to monitor, evaluate, negotiate terms, and facilitate communication, be it at a distance or in person. Requests for this type of engagement, it seems to me in light of what I observed about the workload and actual resources and expectations of World Renew and its partners, are often made without a clear understanding of what the request entails. World Renew nonetheless does its best to channel and accommodate these ideas, in view of the bigger, long term picture.

Similarly to the Christmas catalogue described as making donating "sexy," it is seen in the above examples that World Renew facilitates as much as possible the preferences of the church.[892] It does this in part by packaging poverty and needs in palatable, manageable formats (that are at the same time still genuinely helpful). Its gift catalogue, Free A Family program, Plan A Gift Services, Fast Forward Program, Passion Projects, and more,[893] demonstrate that World Renew is dealing with a wide range of interest, knowledge, and comprehension levels within a single large group. This is a unique challenge for an organization, as is World Renew's mandate and desire to engage people beyond "just" donating (while still maintaining high levels of efficiency). The CRC is comprised of disparate capacities, motivations, and preferences and so, much like a curriculum, World Renew has to produce material that speaks to all levels, but is mostly for the average. Clearly, though, despite any contentious aspects, difficulties, or paradoxes that such programs present for World Renew or for the church, they must also in some way fit into the vision of World Renew for itself, the church, and its partners and communities.

ii. Field

World Renew's approach to community development work in Kenya encompasses a broad range of programming designed to address issues of poverty in a complex, multi-leveled manner, with mutually reinforcing and interconnected means and ends. Together, the programs – agricultural training, water sourcing, small animal husbandry, Orphans and Vulnerable Children support, Village Savings and Loans, sexual and civic human rights education; and methods – participatory rural appraisal, appreciative inquiry, community- and partner-led relations – are able to satisfy Albertan demands for efficient and sustainable development "deeds" and Kenyan demands for a

[892] And, as importantly, the assumption that these preferences are valid and will be met.

[893] These are all found on the World Renew website under "What You Can Do." <http://worldrenew.net/what-you-can-do> [Accessed 02 October, 2015]

trustworthy, reliable, and effective partner and source of expertise.

The most basic demand on World Renew, as relayed through ADS by rural Kenyan communities, is that it demonstrate Christian behaviors. While this includes a number of particulars in the field, the overall demand is for trustworthiness, that is, difference – from other organizations (and persons) who have in one way or another exploited or "cheated" communities and local ADS's. To achieve trustworthiness, World Renew practices a level of communication and presence ("being with") rarely found in development NGO praxis. This is employed from the very start when, before anything else, World Renew helps prospective partners through the process of self-evaluation, to ensure that a partnership will truly be the best fit for both organizations. All efforts are made to have every facet of the partnership agreed on and acknowledged. This is a practice that World Renew has learned the importance of over time, through trial and error in older partnerships in Kenya and elsewhere.

Throughout a contract's lifespan and the implementation of programming, World Renew maintains close contact, supporting and encouraging ADS and communities in order to do its best to increase the likelihood of success. Participatory Rural Appraisals, for example, are funded before program funding requests are submitted, so that staff can feel confident in making their best requests, and so that programs can be activated in a timely and efficient manner. This differs from the ordinary sequence of events with other NGOs, wherein a local organization such as ADS would request funding based on predicted needs, and then conduct a PRA out of that funding when it arrives. This normal practice often results in the need to shift predicted programming, requiring further requests and applications, and more time. World Renew's more accommodating funding application order is one way that maintaining open and respectful communication with its partners, and actively respecting their local, insider knowledge of not only ethno-cultural particularities but also development culture, has resulted in a better practice. This also reinforces the strength of the relationship, since ADS feels heard and respected.

Numerous ADS staff referenced good communication about projects as another thing they appreciate about World Renew. World Renew meets with its partners at least once per quarter year, if not more. Four times a year then, at least, they spend time with partners, offering encouragement and constructive feedback. This expert interaction, and the effort that goes into it – long travels, time away from home – that is, the self-sacrificial and interpersonal nature of the approach, is of high value to partners and communities that choose to work with World Renew,

particularly since its programs tend to be more demanding and rigorous than most. The partners and participants feel "seen" and that adds value to the efforts that they put in while World Renew is not there.

An example of this is a Water for Goats program run by Mayori ADS in collaboration with World Renew. From the beginning, the government, local chiefs, and community were actively recognized as stakeholders in the project. When one community representative committee said that they preferred to receive local goats instead of dairy goats in exchange for the completion of the water pan, because dairy goats had been tried unsuccessfully in that area before, the request was heard and complied with. Whether or not dairy goats may have fared better this time around, local preference was requested, recognized, and responded to, establishing World Renew (and thus ADS) as an organization that takes its work and the process of development seriously.

A second example from the field is from Samburu District, Kwale County, where, in 2012, a World Renew and World Food Program-supported Food for Assets program was in the process of transitioning to a Cash for Assets program. Food for Assets is a Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) practice that distributes food in exchange for participation in community capacity building activities "such as repairing irrigation systems, building bridges, soil conservation and setting up community granaries."[894] Cash for Assets, on the other hand, simply pays people, which allows them to purchase their own food (thus contributing to the local economy) or use the cash in ways they deem fit. This "aid with dignity" skips the middlemen (food sellers and transporters) and skips food distribution costs. It questions the paternalistic position of "people who want to help [but] aren't willing to let people make mistakes," that is make their own decisions, and who "don't trust people to not steal the money,"[895] and it recognizes and responds to local perspectives, preferences, and realities. Such a transition, then, is to a more stewardly (cheaper, more efficient) use of resources, and also to a more stewardly form of leadership: one that cultivates local ownership and initiative, and thus empowerment.[896]

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[894] World Food Program. "Food Assistance For Assets." <https://www.wfp.org/food-assets> [Accessed 03 October 2015]

[895] These quotes are from informal conversations with staff during this trip.

[896] This transition also eliminates the need for IRMs at this location. This elimination was described to me in positive terms, noting that IRMs are expensive to bring to East Africa, expensive to support, and are a mixed bag of help and hindrance. As "volunteers" they nonetheless earn a stipend, and they have sometimes been unfriendly to locals, neither enjoying or understanding Kenya, meanwhile being placed in supervisory positions over people they mistrust.

A third instance of needs assessment in conferral with communities can be seen in Mwatate, in Coast Province, where World Renew helped the community refurbish an abandoned World Bank borehole project. This project affirmed the community's own intuitions and ideas about how it would like to move forward, and modeled the goal of asset identification while enacting cost-effective as well as environmentally sustainable stewardship in the reuse of materials.

The acts and values in the above examples distinguish World Renew from previous NGOs, as well as meet objectives set out by the home CRC. They show inventive, responsive projects and strategy on both the parts of the community and ADS, and of World Renew. World Renew demonstrates leadership and guidance and thereby achieves and models legitimate authority (and simultaneously enacts a critique of other NGOs and illegitimate claims to or of authority).

In addition to careful communication, ongoing consultation, and active recognition of community perspectives, World Renew demonstrates stewardly authority by following through on its promises, both in project execution and, at the close, by handing over completed projects to community management. It remains available for questions and consultation, but respects the new and growing capabilities of communities. Finally, rather than competing with other organizations, World Renew acts as an intermediary in order to connect ADS with other outside partners who will be able to continue where World Renew has left off, and who offer different types of support than World Renew is able. In all of these ways, World Renew meets the doctrine-based demands of Albertans and the contextual needs of Kenyans, both communities and ADS.

Earlier, this chapter touched on the nature of donations and the fact that crises tend to attract much more funding than the slow but steady process of community development. For NGOs, an overabundance of funds earmarked for disaster relief disrupts normal activities and requires a shuffling of staff and other resources to cope with the influx. In the field, underfunded development staff can sometimes feel resentful of the overflowing budgets of their disaster relief co-workers, especially since so many of the issues and causes of disaster are ones that development works toward eliminating.

For example, flooding, and the mudslides and loss of livelihoods that accompany it, is a

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In this instance, where both CRCNA's and World Renew's diaconal, organizational goals are best met by this transition, it has been judged that meeting constituent desire for direct involvement counteracts the development trajectory too much. Given this set of factors, local, Kenyan priorities trumped the priorities of certain segments of the CRC constituency.

far worse disaster in areas that are deforested and denuded of plant life. Reforestation and the re-establishment of ground cover – development practices related to indigenous sustainable agriculture practices, intercropping and use of tree shade – are crucial to preventing the devastation and loss of life that result from seasonal torrential rainfall. The interrelatedness of development work and disaster risk reduction is further attested to by the fact that in many parts of the world, for example the Sahel with its recurrent droughts and famines, disaster is predictable, routine and repetitive. It is an outcome of humans living in areas that are (or have become) inhospitable to long-term human inhabitance (and it is also an outcome of governance, as Amartya Sen suggests[897]). Development programming teaches people how to cope with their natural environment by teaching locally viable sustainable food and income generating measures; and how to cope with their government by teaching civic rights, so that they can access what the government has promised them.

Understanding the interrelatedness of development initiatives and disaster preparedness and mitigation, and in light of the seemingly inexorable tendency for people to donate more to disaster relief than to development, in Kenya World Renew has begun to transition its Disaster Response Services toward Disaster Risk Reduction programming that employs sustainable disaster recovery measures and orients development programming and promotion toward slowly decreasing the size of crises. In 2014 World Renew reported on its work in Haiti that, "Since 2010 World Renew has carried out a $19 million USD response … that included 21 wells, 1400 toolkits, 3500 tarps, 2 water filtration systems, 3425 earthquake and hurricane-resistant homes, 800 latrines, 2166 goats, 17 seed banks, 180,000 tree seedlings, and trauma counseling."[898] By framing and practicing disaster response in this way, not only does World Renew meet the material and soteriological goals of rebuilding and sustainability, it also is able to legitimately leverage funds earmarked for disaster response into longer term methods of addressing disasters and their underlying causes. Though disaster funding remains a problematic issue, DRR is an

[897] Sen, Amartya. Development as Freedom. New York: Knopf, 1999. pp.180-181, plus ff and previous. Sen's argument is essentially that democratically accountable government and a free press / freedom of information are enough to prevent famine – connecting with his other argument, that famines are, economically, easily preventable (but are not prevented because they are not an economic but a political issue).

[898] Agenda for Synod 2014. "Unified Report of Agencies, Institutions and Specialized Ministries: World Renew." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2014. pp.212-213. Similarly, activities in East African (Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya) that began in response to the 2012 drought were continued through 2013: "In Kenya's Eastern Province and the Coastal Region, water pans were rehabilitated as a food-for-work initiative, and more than 1400 families benefited from access to safe water and sanitation facilities in the Turkana district." (Ibid., 214)

approach that satisfies the requirements of donors, World Renew's institutional mandate, and World Renew's own goals.

The CRC's demands for high performance on a low budget also result in a very effective, culturally appropriate and yet, it seems, accidental, trait of World Renew's work abroad, a trait that bolsters World Renew's distinction from other NGOs in a way that is above and beyond the relay of the distinctive contextual requirements of ADS. Importantly, as noted, World Renew's authority is not claimed but rather demonstrated, as it teaches and exemplifies good leadership qualities. World Renew separates wealth from authority in its own practice not only as part of its transformational goals, but also of necessity in order to meet the CRC's restrictive demands for fiscal stringency. This separation, as seen in chapter six, has revolutionary implications for the poor in a society where wealth and authority have traditionally been correlated. The CRC constituency within its ethno-religious *habitus* where frugality is a given almost certainly does not know about the impact or extent of traditional wealth-authority correlation in Kenya; nor could it predict that restricting World Renew's budget while demanding it demonstrate authority in this part of the world would be managed in a way that is particularly profound for these communities.[899]

Further, because of the demands of the church over time for resource-efficient and (therefore) culturally appropriate development schema, beginning in the 1970s World Renew (then CRWRC) began to move from the "sending" model to the partnership model.[900] This has been a long and sometimes strenuous process, change occurring in tension with segments of the church and church leadership who are reluctant to see what they understand to be CRC projects turned over to non-CRC groups; even, potentially, non-Christian groups. Today World Renew's model is highly efficient, relying on a minimum of expat staff. Rather, a core World Renew staff creates simultaneous partnerships with multiple local NGOs (and branches of these), advising and supervising as they work through processes of organizational and community capacity improvement.

By this increase in efficiency World Renew is able to leverage its resources to reach more

[899] If asked, I would predict that this is meaningful in many poor communities – those in which aid has been done badly and those where aid has not yet ventured. The assumption that wealth signifies legitimate authority, or legitimates claimed authority, is a cross-culturally common false correlation, even (perhaps especially) among the affluent. See, for example, North American politics in the case of Donald Trump; or European politics in the case of the Greek economic crisis.

[900] VanderBerg, Kristen deRoo. "The Power of Partnerships." June 10, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/power-partnerships> [Accessed 03 October 2015]

people; but at the same time strict denominational parameters on spending and programming are in this way transferred to its partners as well. By entering into a contract with World Renew, ADS in its own turn is asked for certain kinds of results, on a restricted budget, with no handouts of money or of goods. As Nderitu and others explained, it is in general not up to ADS alone to decide how and what work it does. Though ADS seeks funding from donors that are oriented to what ADS's communities need, each donor will still have certain requirements for ADS's use of the funds, requirements that stem from the donors' own accountability needs. This is as true of World Renew as of any NGO; however, its directions and therefore quality of accountability differ significantly. For the most part donors are accountable to their own accountants and to their own projected budgets and results, not to ADS, not to communities, and certainly not to an expectant, observant, critical congregation of believers who are personally and eschatologically invested in the outcomes of "their" money. Because, unlike most donors, World Renew *is* accountable to ADS, communities, and congregations (as well as to Synod), its directive for ADS is that ADS improve its Organizational Capacity and become self-sufficient, by means that it determines for itself.

As a result of the multiple, sometimes paradoxical, demands of home, abroad, and from within itself, World Renew, unlike most others, partners with ADS in a position and posture of authority, but in the form of leadership (guidance, path-breaking, risk-mitigating) not domination or rule. This is a parallel distinction to stewardship as care, maintenance, nurturing and cultivation, rather than dominion. By practicing stewardship in its development relationships through authority via trust-building, not plutocracy, World Renew is able to transfer its authority to ADS through development processes. ADS in turn is also enabled to transfer that authority, that confident, trustworthy, and legitimate leadership, to participants on the ground. In turn, participants are invited to embrace that deep shift and enfold it into their daily lived practices. Through this partnership, this back and forth sharing of commitment and responsibility, ADS, despite its initially (or traditionally) less powerful position, is empowered – by demands arising out of World Renew's particular *habitus* within the CRCNA – to make demands of World Renew that arise, in turn, out of ADS's own particular *habitus* in Kenya.

iii. Transformation

Deeply embedded in World Renew's partnership approach to development is the goal of transformation. Stephan Lutz cites this goal as a core motivating factor in the close relationships

and frequent contact that World Renew keeps with its partners. “It’s that personal touch,” he says, “that also makes a difference. Because… that mutual transformation – how can that happen [if an organization is] coming once a year? You cannot really have that.” World Renew’s desire, too, is for its own organizational transformation, for a genuine shift from the top-down, “donor-recipient” model that still dominates, to a truly equitable, mutually respectful and mutually agentic form of relationship. This shift, as stated, requires the transformation and empowerment of both organizations. In ontological terms, an organization that functions by imposing its will on recipients functions in an absolutist fashion that objectifies both the other and itself. It removes the agency from recipients and (thereby) makes itself immutable. Thus top-down aid dehumanizes and leads to inertia, cementing poor practices and diminishing creativity. Efforts toward egalitarian relations in which “donor and recipient” participate as partners, however difficult and challenging, are (ideally) mutually empowering and stimulating, and reject arbitrary and illegitimate controls. Partnership and transformation, in this light, are both means and ends within this development context. The coherence of means and ends in World Renew’s work is found at multiple sites.

The Kingdom perspective on the world, that it is broken, sinful, and in need of reconciliation to God through the works of Christ through Christians, is an example of such coherence. This perspective leads to the stewardship mandate which requires Christians to care for all people so that they can reach their created potential, but also so that they may become, or work toward becoming, aware of their estrangement from God and then reconciled with Him. In other words, the Kingdom perspective leads, ultimately, to a transformation by which those for whom stewards care become stewards themselves, sharing the Kingdom perspective on the world and imbuing it into their understandings of themselves and others. Stewardship too, then, is both a means and an end, a capability that World Renew prioritizes in its work in terms of transformation and empowerment. Stewardship, transformation, and empowerment are responses to the Creation Mandate to demonstrate God’s continued active role in human history, the representation of an imminent, historical-yet-eternal God.

They are also means by which World Renew responds to the demand to prioritize evangelism in its work, an issue that was the subject of debate between CRWRC and Christian Reformed World Missions, via Synod, for twenty years. CRWM’s persistent criticism was that CRWRC was not sufficiently “word”-oriented in, especially, its long-term overseas community

development work. In its defense, CRWRC employed arguments from stewardship: that in situations of material impoverishment and concern more people are reached more effectively through deeds than through words. This response alters the terms of the demand for "word" by agreeing that aid must be accompanied by the gospel, but qualifying that this gospel can be explicit or implicit. Implicit gospel as practiced by World Renew is the conversion to a stewardship mindset, one which sees things in a transformative, reforming light. This is the essential sustainable outlook, a method which also incorporates interpretations of stewardship in fiscal, frugal terms. Because of the need to prove the argument that development as evangelical deed reaches more people more effectively than would development and proselytization, World Renew must always strive to accomplish the most it can, in the most sustainable ways possible. Thus the initial 1962 connection between evangelism and aid at World Renew's inception continues to be a determining framework for the non-proselytizing gospel work that World Renew performs today.

This transformative, stewardly perspective characterizes the authority that World Renew models, and can be seen at work in, for example, the approach to negative or obstructive cultural habits among the Kenyan rural poor. World Renew approaches ADS and ADS's community groups in a reconciliatory, relational way. Given the traits and demands of doing so, as described in chapters six and seven, in this context Christianity-based discourse with regard to socio-economic life and development is not one that necessarily rejects local tradition *per se*, but rather helps people come, themselves, to recognize practices and outlooks that are keeping them from achieving what they want to. This is a transformation of mindset, from one of objectified powerlessness (or, de-activated power), to an agentic, actively powerful perspective. Not that everything suddenly becomes easy, but perspective shifts so that people can perceive obstacles differently and (therefore, perhaps) see ways around them, and recognize assets where they previously had not. Within the mutuality of the relational approach, the shift in point of view occurs for ADS as well as for World Renew, for example the shift from seeing partners as recipients to seeing them as assets for a funder's own improvement.

Besides being internally directed and aimed at partners and communities, the transformative goal is also for the home constituency. This, too, connects with the underlying Kingdom goal of reconciliatory diaconal service intended to re-establish right relationship to God, in part by repairing and renewing relationships among human beings and between humans

and the rest of the created world. By widening the diaconal commission into a call to all members, the CRCNA, too, is calling its whole constituency into this type of reconciliatory role.

An example of a project that seeks to implement transformation simultaneously both at home and abroad is World Renew's Embrace AIDS programming.[901] On the Kenyan side, Embrace AIDS is related to the Stepping Stones program, which educates and counsels people and communities living with HIV/AIDS. It is meant to reduce stigma surrounding HIV-positive status and effect change in sexual behaviors and domestic gender-based issues, as well as offer practical assistance and inclusive development programming. On the North American side the program, simultaneously an advocacy and fund-raising project, is intended to alter the church's perspectives on HIV/AIDS by opening conversations about it and educating congregations about transmission, treatment, and life with AIDS in other places. On World Renew's website the project description states that "the church is deeply engaged in establishing a new norm for herself, and for communities around the world."[902] Rather than fearing the disease and shunning the infected, CRC members are learning an educated and compassionate response, one that cultivates and repairs relationships. This is effected in part through the aspect of the North American side of the program that connects churches with OVC groups overseas, for example by linking with Stephen Lewis's "Grandmothers to Grandmothers" program, but also through special interest groups and church-to-church partnerships. Embrace AIDS is an educational and relational program that leverages the desire for particular types and levels of personal involvement into the achievement of goals that are helpful for World Renew and Kenyans as well as transformative for the home church, bringing them into contact with information and individuals that help constituents to question and reconstruct their point of view on HIV/AIDS.

Multiply transformative, Embrace AIDS is the type of program intended when, in 2004, World Renew reported to Synod that "in addition to raising financial resources, [World Renew] strives to educate and involve our North American constituency to 'bring them together' with people in poverty. […] Interchange [between World Renew staff and partner representatives and North American congregations and individuals] encourages better understanding, more informed prayer, and a greater commitment to the work of the church."[903] It was in this same year that

[901] World Renew. "AIDS." <http://www.worldrenew.net/aids> [Accessed 12 May 2016]
[902] World Renew. "Equipping the Global Church to Fight AIDS." February 5, 2012. <http://worldrenew.net/about-us/news-events/equipping-global-church-fight-aids> [Accessed 03 October 2015]
[903] Agenda for Synod 2004. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee."

World Renew's Annual Reports began to include personal stories from and about volunteers and beneficiaries of emergency and development aid. The connection between this programming description and the emerging focus on personalized reports is summarized in a 2005 statement from World Renew that draws together the priorities of education, "doing," and transformation to conceptualize a strategy that includes them all:

> The new buzzword around CRWRC is constituency transformation. This new thrust will involve building a strategy that can help to build relationships and provide transformational education for both our constituency and our communities. This strategy will allow churches and individuals to be involved in our work at many different levels, while equipping them with the tools they need to accomplish their mission and / or [*sic*] vision in their local communities. …service learning …that gives maximum benefit to all involved.[904]

Although this paragraph describes relationship-building as one of the goals to be achieved through the strategy to be devised, I argue that World Renew has come to employ relationship itself *as* a strategy. By reframing the demands of the CRCNA institution and constituency as assets rather than obstacles, World Renew leverages the demands of the CRC for inward-and-outward orientation, stewardship as frugality, leadership, and sustainability, opportunities to "do" in preferred ways, and the commodification of need to suit desires and emotions, into the creation of a strategy that satisfies these demands in both form and substance, while also enabling World Renew to achieve its own organizational goals and meet the partnership and program obligations that it has in the field.

III. Asset Identification and Relationship As A Strategy

The terms "relationship" and "relationship-building," and related ideas such as mutuality, "being with," and "coming alongside" arose repeatedly during my conversations with Albertans regarding their perceptions of World Renew's work and their own roles vis à vis aiding the distant needy. Examining this discourse in light of synodical records and my interviews with people in Kenya, I came to see that between the CRCNA and World Renew there has over time developed a complex relational discourse, employed by various actors in a context of multiple expertises, desires, and doctrinal and practical interpretations and interests. This discourse is bi-directional, and stems from (at least) two evident sources.

In the field, as we have seen, World Renew's partnership approach takes the form of long-

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Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2004. p.238

[904] Agenda for Synod 2005. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2005. p.180-181

term, close contact, highly communicative practices in order to establish mutual trust for the slow progress of development. To the church and Synod, World Renew describes this process as "relationship-building." The source of this approach, besides necessity and World Renew's stated goals, is sometimes attributed to the "relational culture" of many Southern nations. I have avoided describing the partnership framework in terms of "relational culture" in large part because I do not think that this[905] is the primary basis for the framework but rather an available narrative that various speakers employ from time to time. I also have avoided this type of description because it is a reductive characterization of these cultures that places them in exoticized opposition to the more "individualistic" cultures of the North (also a reduction), a generalization which is challenged by recent writings from within the South.[906]

That said, among CRC constituents the idea that "relationship" – connections premised on interpersonal interactions rather than on "just money" – could be a shared cross-cultural value by which to reconstruct ways of helping is a very popular prospect. Ironically, though, as explained by one confidential informant who has spent significant amounts of time in Southern cultures, "relating" in Africa *precludes* helping or doing (at least by guests). Despite this, World Renew's rhetoric of "relationship-building" has been seized upon as a new way for the church to understand itself in relation to needy people. Not as benevolent donor, but as participatory equal – even though actual practices and attitudes remain largely unchanged.

Also ironic, however, is the fact that, over time, World Renew has begun to leverage this misunderstanding, of relationship as a new way to frame helping, into a tool with which to gently steer people away from the notion that "doing" is always "helping." That is, by reconceptualizing "relationship" as a strategy and a process, and not just a distant goal, it has been able to find assets in what (may) have been obstacles. It will be recalled that, the recommendations of the 1979 Task Force on World Hunger having been rejected on account of being, overall, too critical of North American culture and economy, and (thus) overly critical of the habits of, especially, affluent Christians, it was not until the 1990s (1991-1995) that the topic of constituent apathy was formally raised again, by another Task Force on World Hunger. This time, the approach was different. Rather than addressing systemic issues and castigating the West for its roles in that, the

[905] In the sense of "Southern" or "African" relational culture; though "a" relational culture, in the sense of that found in a particular work environment or the like, is certainly at play.

[906] E.g. Eze, Michael Onyebuchi. "What is African Communitarianism? Against Consensus as a Regulative Ideal." *South African Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.27, No.4, 2008, 386-399.

Task Force used positive terms and possibilities to address what was perceived as a diaconal and moral crisis within the CRC and the urgent need to engage CRC constituents with the imminence and importance of global inequalities. This approach focused on engaging people on the basis of what they *can* do, and what they are getting *right*, turning privilege into an asset for poverty reduction. It introduced the idea of relationship as an educational tool, whereby North Americans can "learn from" the people with whom they volunteer, framing volunteer experiences as something reciprocal rather than a one-way street, and so positive for all involved.

This period saw the "each one reach one"[907] motto, which challenged and encouraged renewed congregational will and desire to play active roles in the fight against world hunger, to be able to "truly help." Facilitating this will through relationships has served a number of purposes, among which is the educative purpose of making constituents aware that there are helpful and harmful ways to be involved. Relationship, with its implications of communication and mutuality, is meant to reduce the likelihood of damaging practices and increase the likelihood that work will be truly beneficial.

That said, it is nonetheless also the case that, as described in chapter four, for the CRC constituency the ideal of relationship is very much tied to Western notions of what helping (really) looks like, as well as what it means to be in a relationship. These Western (and Dutch-Canadian Christian Reformed) cultural notions thus shape the formats in which promotion of relationship is possible, and create boundaries within which World Renew must do its work of education and edification.

Bearing in mind the strong proclivities of people toward activities and causes that have a significant connection to their personal life and experience, as well as the tendency for people to evaluate the attractiveness of possibilities for helping in terms of their personal preferences as well as their own opinions (variously informed) on the best way to do things, World Renew has come up with a number of different ways that people can develop relationships – and thus, eventually, empathy – with people and projects that it works on, without damaging these contexts in the process. Most indirect is through World Renew's Church Relations team which "helps to facilitate a two-way dialogue of understanding and support between the work of World Renew in

[907] The goal of the "each one reach one" campaign was "to have 75,000 persons or families being ministered to by the year 2000 in programs that incorporate self-sufficiency principles with caring relationships from Christian individuals and families. To achieve this level of ownership among the members of the CRCNA, staff will be giving greater attention to communication and church relations." Agenda for Synod 1992. "Report 6: World Ministries." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1992. pp.102-103

various parts of the world and congregations in Canada. This is done through correspondence, personal visits by staff, and ongoing learning."[908]

Partners Worldwide and Free A Family are somewhat more direct but still distant ways for congregants to develop relationships with individuals and communities in ways that appeal to them. Free A Family is modeled somewhat after child sponsorship programs of other organizations, but recognizes the difficulties that often arise when one child in an entire poor family becomes a source of income, as well as the logistics and expenses of responsibly running such programs. Instead World Renew follows representative families in various parts of the world, so that people donating to the program of "a family" can see the kinds of progress to which they are contributing. Partners Worldwide, mentioned once already in this chapter, comes from identifying business skills in the CRC as assets that can be used on behalf of the poor. It partners North American business people with entrepreneurs in developing countries, in a relationship described as coming "alongside" of individuals and communities, to work together.[909] This partnership is not solely for the benefit of the poor but is, like every program described here, designed with a mutual, reciprocal transformation in mind.

Most direct are opportunities available through volunteering, now called "service learning," and through Discovery Tours. Unlike service learning, in which people do contribute in some manner to the environment they're visiting, Discovery Tours are designed "so that participants can be present in their emotions and observations, rather than trying to figure out all the different ways they believe they can solve peoples' problems… [and] be challenged with some of the aspects of poverty and justice that the community faces."[910] In both service learning and Discovery Tours, the purpose is "education through direct experience, whether… in North America or rural Mali."[911] Explaining the value of these kinds of person to person encounters, World Renew testified that "giving North Americans an opportunity to sit face-to-face with [for example] a struggling fruit-stand operator in Manila reveals that a relationship across borders and cultures provides lessons and hope for everyone involved."[912] This rationale is the one that was

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[908] Agenda for Synod 2014, 211
[909] World Renew, "Business As Ministry for a World Without Poverty"
[910] VanderBerg, "A Different Kind of Volunteer Experience"
[911] Agenda for Synod 2000. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2000. p.169
[912] Agenda for Synod 2000, 168
Other explanations from Synods:
World Renew wants "people – both rich and poor – to come together, learn from each other, and grow in

cited by most of the people whom I asked to explain the concept of relationship, when it came up. On the surface, and as explained to me, the international relational good of this type of encounter is a fuzzy, feel-good, kind of experiential mutuality wherein, for some unarticulated reason, the mere presence of a visitor from a distant land is of value to the struggling fruit vendor. It makes sense that this transaction would be of unclear value to the people with whom I spoke, since such relationships are not maintained afterward, and since there truly is a cultural difference in the intrinsic valuation of such experiences. In addition, it is hard to pinpoint what long term good, or goods, such an encounter provides the Filipino produce seller.

It seems to me that what World Renew is saying in broad terms is that, rather than going somewhere "to help" or "make a difference" to other people, these experiences (are intended to) make a difference to the people who are going. This is a similar rationale as given for short term volunteering, missions, and youth trips, however it has been shown that such trips by and large do not actually make lasting change in the lives or mindsets of the volunteers. However, by removing (at least partly) the aspect of doing and inserting the practice of learning, with Discovery Tours World Renew adjusts the "volunteer experience" in a way that opens space for encounters unobscured by busyness and extrinsic purposes. This is where, as described in chapter four, people suddenly find that they have things in common with the people they are meeting, that they can *relate* to them. And it is this relationship that remains and is ongoing, with or without continued communication. A basis for true empathy is created – the type of empathic connectedness that motivates people when they are choosing charitable causes to support (which is the long-term, big picture benefit for the fruit stand operator).

The strategy also nurtures attachment to and trust in the organization, when people bring "good stories" back to their home churches and act as champions for World Renew's work, and

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Christ. That is why we place an emphasis on building relationships across regions, income levels, and nationalities. We want to build up the global community and body of Christ. As a result, we offered a number of volunteer and learning opportunities this past year to help make relationships possible." (Agenda for Synod 2004, 228)

Re. volunteers for relief aid to Indonesia: "Certainly, North Americans as well as Indonesians were transformed through building new homes but even more so through building relationships of love and compassion." (Agenda for Synod 2007. "Reports of Agencies and Institutions: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2007. p. 258)

And: "…a growing interest within churches to support specific missionaries, programs, projects, or countries. […] These support relationships include prayer support, communication, and visitation or work group volunteering, in addition to financial gifts." (Agenda for Synod 2007, 260)

The service learning program was established in 1994 as part of the response to the Task Force on World Hunger Report of the 1990s.

for fundraising and awareness. Thus, as well, World Renew's relationship with the church is bolstered and churches feel sustained in their desire for information about overseas projects, and so continue to want to support the work there. "Relationship," then, has become the rubric used to present what are, still, fundraising, education and awareness, and efforts to engage the constituency in global issues, eventually to the point of advocacy – the same constituency-directed priorities and concerns raised by Synod in the seventies.

Notably, in materials designed for constituent interest and information, World Renew's own partnership practices are not differentiated from the type of relationship-building envisioned for constituencies.[913] By discussing its own "relationship-building" partnership strategy within the same narratives as the relationships that it describes wanting to establish between churches and individuals or communities, World Renew implicitly satisfies some of the desire in the church for the opportunity to do something of significance. If the church community is doing the equivalent of what World Renew is doing, then that is, surely, doing good, and doing it well. By using "relationship" indistinctly World Renew exploits a natural slippage of terms to bypass the significant differences between what it does and what constituent opportunities accomplish, which satisfies its relationship needs with the church as well as elides the larger goal embedded in this new relationships strategy, which is the transformation of the church (a transformation to which it has been resistant, when presented with it openly).

In 2004 World Renew's Report to Synod included a description of the word, "shalom," as encompassing "so much of what [World Renew's] transformational work is all about. …[it] refers to the big concept of wholeness – of a life in which all relationships are harmonious and pleasing to God. Shalom is something that will not be fully realized until God's kingdom is complete, yet it is something that we, as Christians, long for, work for, and pray for each day."[914] This reflects the Christian Reformed Kingdom eschatology at work in stewardship demands, in which a future goal is always worked toward, with sacrifices made in the present, though the goal is continually elusive. The goal of development is, arguably, similarly elusive, and World Renew must find temporal markers at appropriately intermediate positions, to use as development goals and indicators.

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[913] For example, "In the 1990s, CRWRC… [recognized] that working with community level partners could not be a top-down approach. Instead, these relationships had to be entered into as a time of mutual sharing and receiving. They were to be truly equal partnerships. Only then could true transformation happen." (VanderBerg, "The Power of Partnerships")

[914] Agenda for Synod 2004, 229

One such temporal marker, or intermediate goal, for World Renew in the Kingdom perspective, is using "relationship-building" to establish a ground of trust from which steps can then be taken. When World Renew uses this terminology to describe to constituent supporters what it does or the purpose of its programming, these supporters, unsurprisingly, adopt it into their own set of proprietary understandings of World Renew. Thus relationship-building becomes something that not only fits the Kingdom reconciliatory interpretation of stewardship (as well as fitting the demands of fiscal stewardship), it also is something that people feel they are able to "do" from far and near, as witnessed to by independent project groups and by people who themselves travel overseas in various capacities. It is a loose, neutral, and thin, yet highly significant and profoundly meaningful term that allows World Renew to meet and incorporate various demands without finding new language for each stakeholder.

i. Ambiguity of Terms and Constituent Expectations

Because World Renew is not completely transparent regarding its use of relationship as a strategy – perhaps not even completely to itself – relationship rhetoric in the church regarding World Renew and opportunities therein employs the ordinary meaning of the term for average North Americans, that is, what most would assume involves a connection between people, usually with ongoing communications, person-to-person encounters, a growth of intimacy trajectory, reciprocity, and the like.[915] In other words, while there has come to exist a consistent emphasis on the idea of relationship – by both Albertans and World Renew – there is an inconsistent vision of what that is.

Average Canadian interpretations of the idea of relationship can lead to complications and disappointment with programs described or understood as relationship-building, for example regarding expectations of reciprocity and communication. Challenges linked to the desire to actually establish and maintain a consistent level of "back and forth" communication, as described by several interviewees, are particularly linked to lack of understanding of the communities with whom a group seeks to be in partnering, mutual relationship. First, the "communities," with whom these churches partner are in fact an amorphous body of persons, living more or less in proximity to one another, from among whom are to be chosen regular or rotating correspondents to the Alberta churches, which have a much more definite border of

[915] I am basing this description on informal observations, personal experience, and the ways that interviewees described both expectations, challenges, and disappointments in various World Renew-facilitated relationships they were trying to navigate.

community. Second, and related, is the issue of time constraints, as well as ease of communication and access to communications, which is a much more abundant asset and simple matter for people in Alberta. Issues one and two together reveal the third issue, which is a fairly limited understanding of the demands, constraints, and physical-political realities of the "communities" with whom the Alberta churches or church groups are working. And this, fourth, can in turn lead to strain and disappointment if or when the partnership engenders i) demands from Alberta that are not empathic or contextually reasonable, and which ii) will (therefore) not be consistently met, leading to iii) an erosion of trust. In other words, lack of familiarity with the actual groundwork or physical situation of partner communities abroad probably contributes to unrealistic expectations of the kind of relationship that is possible, which expectations can undermine the real relational possibilities. In this sense the adviser to the Partners in Hope committee who said that "they all just need to go over there" is right. But many people can't, for various reasons, or are not even interested in making such a trip. However, the value and possibility of relationship nonetheless remains central to many peoples' conceptions of aid and development projects, or the right way to do such projects. In these ways relationship as a strategy can be a double edged sword.

ii. Translation and Solidarity

Relationship as strategy leads to the question of what, exactly, the development of a body – perhaps a critical mass, ultimately – of transformed believers, with fully awakened empathic faculties is supposed to look like and/or result in. To an extent this question is obscured by the work and objectives of fundraising and "doing," and learning by doing and seeing in order to plug back into fundraising. But within this work what has been so embraced is the idea of relationship, even if mostly emotionally grasped by congregation members who so strongly emphasize preference for this type of engagement over "just money."

In the CRCNA, today's prophetic critique of systemic injustice describes poverty as "a fundamentally relational problem... as a consequence of communities being enmeshed in a wide array of broken relationships that perpetuate inequality and injustice," for example between men and women, land owners and the landless, between the wealthy and the poor, or between classes. "Overcoming poverty," World Renew's 2012 Annual Report to Synod continues, "therefore requires addressing these functional relationships at all levels," such as through education,

peacemaking, redistribution of resources, or advocacy for fair trade policy and practice.[916] Structural injustice is thus cited numerous times by CRCNA bodies as a major source of poverty in the world, as well as a source of the perpetuation of severe economic disparity, and the church is called, again, to bring justice into this situation. Relationship as a strategy not just for maintaining constituent support and status quo, but for sparking a galvanizing, gut-wrenching empathy is, it seems to me, a potentially very powerful way to bring justice into this situation. A transformed church could be a revolutionary church… if it were not a church that rejects radicalism.

World Renew's ultimate task, its method of addressing injustice through transformational relationships that are stewardly in every sense, is to re-form broken relationships and in this way re-form structural relations between, first, the church and the world, but also within the world, as a pillar. This transformational reformational mandate shapes the course of World Renew's development praxis. It's ultimate task is not only structural and sublime but also the immediate, ongoing work of facilitating various types of mundane, immediate relationships. Because World Renew is ultimately and imminently an agent of re-form, not of overturning, it must work with what is; and when working in continually cross-cultural environments as it does, working with "what is" involves a constant work of translation and interpretation. This vast component of World Renew's praxis is invisible to most people.

World Renew interprets, translates, and identifies events and practices that are significant, and manoeuvers and manages qualitative standards set by different cultures, and differently valued in different cultures; for some perhaps not even valued at all. The purpose of relationship is one example of such a qualitative good. Reports to Synod and World Renew head office about progress and change in many different environments involve communicating other such "thick" goods. Visitors and evaluators may come to the field, but where cultural difference is deep and only superficially understood by most visitors, the challenge of communicating development goals and achievements – to evaluate and report in a language that makes sense across cultures, that is acceptable to head office, and does justice to reality on the ground – is nearly impossible to meet.

Patrick Nderitu's impassioned frustration with the short timelines and strict demands of

[916] Acts of Synod 2012. "Board of Trustees of the Christian Reformed Church in North America. Agency Supplements: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 2012. p.651. Note, as well, the Kuyperian thought at work here.

most development programming demonstrates this conflict well – the conflict between meeting the socio-cultural (ethnicity and history-based) needs of his communities and meeting the (equally socio-cultural, ethnicity and history-based) demands of donors and partners, who wield their privilege and power to force the prioritization of contract over long term change and deep understanding. While World Renew is, largely, held up as an exception (or as better than most), as part of the NGO culture and, more, as coming from Western culture that demands results and reports and little subjective pause, it is more or less forced to implement strict demands as well, if only because it is accountable to the same donor demands as ADS (in addition to CRC demands). Thus, because of cultural, valuational differences that create gulfs between donors and partners, to a significant degree there are and will always be, for foreign NGOs, certain cultural matters that can never be part of aid practice as it now stands. There simply is no room in the conversation, at least not in the long-distance, phone card budgeted, satellite-bouncing "conversation," with all of its digital stutters, redials, and booming static interruptions, between "Kenyans" and "Albertans," "Africa" and "the West," for this deep exchange. The technologies of communication – the *episteme* and the *technē* of it – are simultaneously too fast and too slow. Too impatient and too immense; in all of the microchip thinness, too thick.

That said, however, it is within this lack (or excess) that World Renew can excel, as an exceptional on the ground presence and as an effective constituent engager. If one leaves aside the (im)possibility of full or accurate cross-cultural communication and sharing, and sees World Renew as not a bridge or direct line but as an exchange, like a FOREX, then it seems a more hopeful situation. Kenyans and Canadians bring one currency (e.g. ideas and values of doing and of what a relationship is) to World Renew, and receive another – reports, requests, etc. As with currency, though it can often seem like one is operating at a loss, what comes out of the FOREX on either side is a set of signifiers that are of value in the culture/context/location where they are going.

What a FOREX does for currency coming overland from Kenya to Canada, and vice versa, so World Renew does for ideas, values, issues, compromises, hopes, despairs, etc., between cultures. It does this by words and various practices, but also by offering ways for people to have their understanding of their own currency adjusted, to be forced to translate from and to numbers and prices in which they are unaccustomed to calculating value. The cultivation of empathy through Discovery Tours, for example, is an effort at constructing or facilitating such an

exchange.

What I am trying to convey, here, is that even though the on-the-ground reality of relational culture in Kenya for Kenyans is probably not fully accessible to outsiders (through short term visits of any kind; perhaps not even long term stays), even with the efforts of World Renew as FOREX, I think there is an extent to which one can come to better or more thoroughly realize the reality of other – totally other, as shilling are to dollars: still currency, but highly context dependent – realities; that they are as full, as real, and as definitive for the people to whom they belong as one's own is to oneself. That other currency is not "play money."

In her essay, "Is Mutuality Possible? An African Response," Anne Nasimiyu-Wasike examines the notion of mutuality and what this might look like between Africa and the North that has historically dominated and oppressed African peoples. She writes, "The North has to recognize that Africa's crisis is also their crisis because if we take mutuality seriously, then solidarity at all levels has to be fostered and especially at the international level. Mutuality is the possibility to embrace others, especially those who are disadvantaged by life and history, and to include them in one's person and social concerns in order to support them."[917] If Discovery Tours and other World Renew programs engender exchange that allows people to internalize the idea that people who live in poverty are living in that poverty with every shred of their breath, blood, emotion, and potential, just as one lives inside of one's own life – the type of empathy that leads to solidarity – then World Renew will be truly accomplishing constituent transformation, as well as reformation. It seems to me that this would be the most sustainable, frugal, reconciliatory and Kingdom-oriented, trustworthy development strategy seen so far. I think, in a way, that World Renew is implementing such a strategy already to the extent it is able, but if constituents were truly empowered to see past their own embeddedness in obstructive practices and traditions it could potentially create a groundswell of church-based activism. To my mind, such a transformed vision of global relations would lead, logically, to participation in the type of movements that call for an overhaul and overturning of the systemic, structural oppression embedded in many of the aspects and uses of global relations. However, based on the CRCNA's history of response to such suggestions, it seems that such a movement would not be considered reformative but rather too radical. This seems to indicate a limit to reform, a point at which structures, systems, and

[917] Nasimiyu-Wasike, Anne. "Is Mutuality Possible? An African Response." *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol.24, No.1, January 2001, 45-53. p.51

institutions become irreconcilable, condemned; or, at which one exceeds one's proper sphere, and encroaches on God's sovereignty.

This is, in the end, the underlying dynamic and the paradox of concern for the Reformed church: the paradox which simultaneously produces a solidarity-based mode of development NGO practices, while withholding the total power of solidarity to inspire change. It is the Kingdom in stasis, the hesitated revolt, the always, the now, and the not yet of urgent change, and the multiply productive and restrictive context from within which World Renew seeks to do God's work.

IV. Reflections

Several interrelated areas of further discussion are indicated by the data and analysis I have presented. I will address three of these here, briefly, in order to point to some of the possibilities for future work stemming from this research.

i. Parallels to "The Protestant Ethic"

The data in several ways clearly meshes with and even duplicates the social patterns described in Max Weber's classic sociological studies of the economic ramifications of Puritan ascetic Christianity and the notion of "election" for North American economic norms: *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, and the article of similar theme, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism."[918]

Weber's analysis in these works describes how certain religious notions can have unintended, unexpected, and even somewhat ironic economic consequences. For the Christian community Weber discusses, Calvinist Puritans in the nineteenth century United States, the notion of "election" is central to Christian identity. Christian lives are believed to have been preordained by God and thus one's Christianity is not dependent on one's own will but rather on God's, which cannot be known except by its evidence in certain types of lifestyle. For members of that community, claims Weber, this ambiguity around salvation and belonging and the ongoing possibility that a member of one's community, perhaps even oneself, might not in fact be a Christian, created an environment of surveillance, scrutiny, and considerable psychological stress.

People were motivated to keep watchful eyes on each other, for signs of truly Christian (or non-Christian) behavior, especially since discernment is also a trait of the elect. Christian

[918] Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London: Allen and Unwin, 1930; "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Oxford, UK: Routledge, 1991 [1948].

behaviors were, especially, economic and personal frugality, modesty, simplicity, sobriety, and the like – the more ascetic (though not ostentatiously so) the better. Opposite were laziness, wantonness, luxury, over-spending, gluttony, etc. Also among the ascetic virtues was hard, honest labour. The inadvertent yet, in retrospect, fairly predictable outcome of this was that Puritan Christians, in short, became quite rich by exhibiting what later came to be known as "capitalist" (profit-making) behaviors. Rising through the ranks of employment or profiting well at business were perceived or glossed as "blessings," since they arose from correct Christian behaviors; but only if the wealthy continued to practice those behaviors and refrain from indulging in the wasteful behaviors made possible by wealth.

Though the CRC is not the same sect that Weber studied, certain similarities exist. We have seen in chapter three the notions of special and common grace, and of anti-thetical principles, which create a similarly tautological Christian identification system as the Puritans used (a Christian acts like a Christian). We have also seen, in a number of interviews, material increase or prosperity referred to as "blessings." While this latter may be vernacular theology and not official CRC doctrine, it nonetheless reflects a perspective on affluence not unlike the Puritans' that is congenital to Protestant Christianity in most places (it would be a challenge to find many Christians who interpret wealth otherwise, I think). From this, also, can be seen the identity dynamic in which affluence is viewed as a measure – a sign – of good, moral behavior, viz. of moral authority, but also as something in which one can not or ought not take personal pride.

Weber's observations about inadvertent economic effects of religion, especially Christian affluence identified as "blessings" are, not surprisingly, reflected in my data at all three sites. Wealth as blessing is a common interpretation, though it is uniquely applied, I think, when it comes to assessing the value and appropriateness of World Renew's development work. Perhaps more interesting is how parallels to Weber's observation of economically-demonstrated sets of required behavioral codes emerge in my data as well. These behavioral codes exist for both World Renew and for ADS and participant communities. I did not observe similar codes for the CRCNA members, though it seems quite likely that they do exist, since demonstrated adherence to agreed upon norms is central to most religious identities.

In addition to being an example of how a religion-based value can directly steer the actions of an organization in the field, for instance, the high valuation of contextually specific

definitions of efficiency has a mutually affirming relationship with the work of World Renew that is highly similar to that of the Puritan asceticism and affluence described by Weber. Examining the success (measured as effectiveness) of World Renew, it is seen that CRC demand for certain types of behaviors, which leads to certain types of strategy and structure (time limits; deadlines; as well as organizational structure and organizational facilitation of constituents), can have positive and negative effects in the field, but overall in this case have contributed to World Renew's reputation as a good partner. The high valuation of efficiency in evaluations of World Renew aligns with Weber's analysis: by its careful management of funds, or gifts, which gifts also include non-monetary resources such as human connections, existent NGOs and community leaders and assets of all kinds,[919] World Renew has been able to establish an extraordinary presence in the NGO world, doing careful work with significant long- and short-term impact, which has led to it also becoming eligible for grants and support from larger funding institutions, such as the EU, CIDA, and USAID. For constituents supporting World Renew financially, its continued receipt of funding signifies "blessing," which indicates the appropriateness of continued support.

The following two topics also tie in with this Weberian strand in my work. Less closely paralleling the "Protestant Ethic" analysis, they consider some of the ramifications of interpreting wealth as a "blessing."

ii. Wealth, Power, and Tradition: Directions of Change

While considering World Renew's work and purpose as connected to the demands of the church, I came to see that the demands on World Renew are also demands on the needy communities with whom World Renew works and, as such, reflect a certain understanding of the relationship between the church and the poor. This understanding is, I think, quite strongly reflected in the nature of the various programs that World Renew offers as ways for the CRC community to "get involved."

Despite World Renew's explicit dual, or bi-directional, mandate of service toward the poor and toward the church, it is obvious that there is a uni-directionality to the demands that World Renew can make. Demands originate in the church, pass through World Renew, and come to rest at the feet of partners and participants, as promises and conditionalities. The kinds of

[919] This is, again, part of World Renew's stated strategy; and while identification of local assets is certainly not unique to World Renew or even to Christian NGOs, in this context it becomes part of the discourse of stewardship.

changes I have described in chapter six – from negative (obstructive) practices and perspectives to positive ways of approaching these things – are expected to be necessary at the Kenya/partner end, but not so much on the Alberta/CRCNA side.

Without wanting to sound condemnatory, but rather analytic, I think it is worth examining why this is so. In earlier chapters we have seen that the diaconal praxis of "caring, paring, and sharing"[920] was adopted piecemeal, not in whole, so that sharing is enacted with admirable skill and dedication, but advocacy (caring) less, and alteration or examination of domestic economic practices (paring; social and personal) even less so. This parallels the rejection of earlier Task Force recommendations that CRC congregations be asked to reassess Western privilege, lifestyles, and economic practices as part of the church's approach to acting on world hunger (and the accompanying suggestion that third world culture and histories be the focus), even though the CRCNA's own agreed-upon understanding of stewardship quite clearly incorporates this type of self-examination and action. This resistance to alter practices that are normal, normative, habitual, and/or "traditional" within the wider culture of the CRCNA (e.g. consumerism, individualism, unfettered or exploitative modes of capitalism such as that which disregards environmental and human rights concerns) and within the more particular CRC *habitus* (e.g. "doing," income- rather than spending-based tithes, the ritual of short term missions trips) presents a contradiction to what is asked of the groups that the CRC wants to help. It is a paradox, or perhaps rather an irony, of care that a community that puts so much effort and energy into helping in one way would be so reluctant to engage in another practice – especially when this very practice is key to the long-term success of World Renew in poor communities,[921] and cultural dismissal of the fact is key to ongoing global injustice and extreme poverty.

There are several dynamics simultaneously at work here. One is the already described tendency for people to prefer doing things that feel, to them, more immediately effective and

[920] Acts of Synod 1978. "Reports, C – Study Committees: Task Force on World Hunger – Report 37 (Art. 73)". Grand Rapids, MI: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church; Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1978. pp.595-596

[921] This is not to say that zero CRC members are involved in advocacy, or that no constituents at all are concerned with personal and political complicity in global injustices that are linked to historical and current economic systems of power and exploitation. But it is to say that pursuing and acting on these concerns has been and is a far more difficult avenue for the church and World Renew to lead people into for "helping." This, despite the fact that it would be easier for World Renew, a better (more frugal and more efficient) use of resources, and – given the magnitude of the CRC's organizational and intellectual will and power, and the exponential possibilities of its social and professional ties – a more effective practice than facilitating hands on involvement of non-experts in fields overseas.

therefore more immediately gratifying. Second is the power disparity between the CRC constituency and World Renew. Without likely knowing or realizing it, as its major donors and champions, the CRC constituency holds considerable sway over World Renew's praxis. Though encouraging advocacy and the examination of cultural norms and traditions of the West may well fit securely within the parameters of World Renew's constituent development mandate, if (because) this is rejected by the CRC membership (as judgmental, overly critical, unrealistic, political, biased, radical, at cross-purposes with acquiring funding, etc.), then World Renew simply cannot implement such a program, at least not overtly. I have discussed these first two dynamics already in the thesis so will not expand on my reasoning again here.

The third dynamic is somewhat speculative and so I present it briefly as well, as a potential future avenue of analysis. I suggest that there is a significant cultural force upholding the paradoxical demand that poor communities alter their prosperity-inhibiting practices while donor communities resist or refuse to put the same advice into effect for themselves. This cultural force – the correlation of wealth with legitimate authority – is, ironically, among the powerful norms that Kenyan CBOs and self-help groups learn in various ways to resist, as they come to realize their rights and values as humans and citizens.

In the Western, North American social sphere, the conscious or unconscious linking of personal or institutional wealth or affluence with possession of moral, political, economic, religious, intellectual, and even physical authority[922] and superiority is not far removed from what Max Weber observed as part of the dual "proof" of election among Calvinist Puritans in the New World.[923] This correlation is evident in statements such as the following, from Henry Bosch, former director of NADC: "Somebody once said [to me] – 'If you're gonna measure a program or a ministry, and wonder if it's still ok to go with it … if the money is still coming in strong, that's one really good indicator.' So we've asked that question. Do we continue with these water projects? And every year, the money just comes in."

In this religious sphere it is evident that wealth, affluence, increased profits, etc., are still today translated as "blessings," as proof of divine favour, even if adherents would simultaneously acknowledge that happenstance – of birth, if not other – plays a large role in one's potential

[922] Wherein wealth is either used implicitly to justify claims to authority; or, when wealth is subconsciously understood to legitimate such claims.

[923] It is also not far removed from Weber's observations regarding state monopolies on legitimate violence, in "Politics as a Vocation."

prosperity. In larger, secular society, at the same time, the divine mandate has long been sublimated into political constructs and power structures in which such things as, for example, well-financed lobby groups that sway democratic governance, uneven global economic playing fields and exploitative trade deals, the military-industrial complex and its business of war, public bailouts of commercial banks, and the existence of tax havens for the one percent demonstrate the correlation of wealth with power, with political authority, and with moral imperviousness if not *de facto* correctness. Cultural norms and assumptions that correlate (falsely) wealth with authority, whether or not explicitly glossing wealth as divine approval, by understanding social, political, and economic dominance as properly the sphere of the propertied, ensure cultural complicity with and reinforcement of the silence of economically marginalized people at home and abroad, as well as creating a blind spot among the affluent regarding the weakness (illegitimacy) of their own assumed positions of authority.

Well-intentioned, generous Westerners are acting in complicity with, or invoking, the wealth-authority complex when they tell poor people to change their economic habits but simultaneously refuse or fail to acknowledge or recognize the economic systems that work to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of marginalized humans[924] (e.g. sweatshops; mining; coffee, cocoa, and cotton plantations; rainforest destruction to grow corn and soy to feed animals to support meat consumption; onerous trade conditionalities including unfair export and import taxes and tariffs).[925]

These issues with regard to the CRCNA community were lightly touched on in chapter four and chapter seven, where I briefly looked at recommendations of Synodical Task Forces over time. These Task Forces were assigned to look at possible causes and remedies of apathy in the church toward issues of world hunger. Repeatedly, in different guises, the Task Forces suggested a triple theme of caring, sharing, and paring. Repeatedly, caring (advocacy) and paring (changing and re-examining habits at home) were minimized or rejected in favour of increased sharing and an onus on World Renew to educate congregants on why and how to share more of their money, time, and skills.

This response is reflected in the strategies of constituent and overseas development that

[924] As well as non-human animals and the natural environment.

[925] Not to mention that the existence of cheap labour that is calculated into profit margins relies on a margin of unemployment in developing nations, viz. an ever available set of replacement labourers; a margin that, in poor countries, is very large. This ensures workforce compliancy, and also contributes to maintaining a subsistence economy, since so few wages are brought into the local economy by spending or saving.

World Renew has developed over time. Though it has had success within the normative boundaries I describe in this dissertation, this type of constituent influence and other aspects of the Reformed perspective within the North American political economy of the early twenty-first century, can be counter-productive to larger ends and goals that could be pursued as part of addressing, not just poverty, but the injustice/s that make poverty so (including poverty at home).

iii. Kingdom Stasis

A final aspect of the Reformed perspective is, again, one that rose at earlier points of the dissertation. This is what I have described as a "Kingdom stasis," the simultaneous push and pull of the soteriological views found in Reformed Christian doctrine, as well as specifically Kuyperian thought. What I refer to as "the Kingdom view" is the eschatological understanding of the world (human and non-human creation) as heading toward a time when it will be reunited with God and made whole again. Meanwhile, continues this view, Christians are called to emulate Christ on earth, which is to do their best as stewards to bring reconciliation and repair to a sinful broken world. This reconciliation involves enactment of the anticipated Kingdom state of the world through deeds; and also involves bringing people to salvation through Christ, who unites people with God in the interim.

The brokenness of the world, the injustices that lead to all manner of marginalization, pain, and oppression, is central to this understanding of the Kingdom and of salvation, and is attributed to sin. God is ultimately in control and will bring the ultimate saving reparation, but humans are called to work in the meantime, as stewards. This stewardship mandate, in Kuyperian terms, is the basis of the Reformed anti-radicalism I have mentioned. Kuyper's view of social change is through pillars; through creating Christian versions of secular institutions, by which inroads Christians are able to act within secular society toward overall social reform. To repeat a quote used in chapter seven, "Because God's people know that 'though the wrong seems oft so strong God is the ruler yet,'[926] their perspective on evil in society is radically different from that of the unbeliever. Christians cannot be passive in the face of evil, but because they know that God is in control, the *manner* in which they go about changing evil structures is vastly different from that of unbelievers." The Kuyperian vision of development, then, involves the transformation or reformation of institutions and social structures; working with what exists and becoming a voice

[926] This quote within the quote comes from the hymn cited in this chapter's title, "This Is My Father's World." The perspective on evil that the song suggests is that it, like everything, is part of the world that is in God's hands, in his sovereign control. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/This_Is_My_Father%27s_World>

or influence in existing society, but not seeking to overturn, or revolutionize, these things.

A second result of the Kingdom-Kuyperian view of the world and human practice is that, because in this view the ultimate source of poverty and suffering is sin, the ultimate solution to poverty and suffering is spiritual, that is, reconciliation of the world to God. This is a solution or goal that cannot be achieved by human means or even within human history (in the sense of history as temporal and finite and as such intrinsically alien to an infinite and atemporal God, except as incarnated in Christ, whose final reconciling return is awaited). From this perspective, then, all that can be expected of human efforts are stop-gap measures, and it would be a sinful impulse to imagine that we could be capable of more. This point of view affects World Renew's development orientation by simultaneously demanding behaviours suitable to a steward of God and also confining these behaviours to the appropriately modest, i.e. non-revolutionary, non-radical, limits of a pillar without pretense to perfection.

In the context of development aid undertaken as a Christian practice among those most negatively affected by structural injustice, however, keeping the ethical apart from the political, or the anti-thetical from the anti-Christian, is a more complicated matter than in the case of, say, establishing a Christian school system or (paradoxically) a Christian political party. Doing development is so tied up with direct confrontation with sources and outcomes of injustice, that it can quickly seem entangled with spheres that the church considers outside of its purview.

This is an issue that World Renew has had to address repeatedly over the years, reassuring a critical or concerned CRWM and Synod that it was, indeed, staying the Reformed course; even if and when its approach appeared (too) political. For example in 1978 in its Report to Synod, as I have quoted previously, CRWRC wrote that:

> our purpose is not only to feed the hungry – our purpose is to free them from hunger so they may be free to serve God. This implies two things: first, our help must consist not only of handing food to the hungry, but must include efforts aimed at making the hungry self-sufficient. Second, our food aid must be accompanied by presentation of God's reformational Word, so that the hungry may be led to Christ and the social and governmental structures which cause hunger may be reformed.[927]

Similarly, in 1983, it clarified, "Basically, CRWRC [World Renew] does its work on political goals by means of development work. Development work is political in that it opens new alternatives, helps people take charge of their lives, and helps the poor discover the power they

[927] Task Force on World Hunger 1978, 615

can exert through organizing and political activity. However, development is the direct goal; political action is peripheral."[928]

In one of the more recent defenses of its work, World Renew explains in Reformed terms the importance of equipping people with knowledge about and tools with which to address root causes of poverty, which they identify as various forms of structural injustice. Many people whose preference for supporting development work hinges on their view of relief or "handouts" as not only creating dependency, but as perpetuating rather than halting a cycle of need, that is, being inefficient, explain their position with the maxim, "If you give me a fish, you have fed me for a day; if you teach me to fish, you have fed me for a lifetime." I heard this frequently in my interviews with Albertan CRC constituents.

Defending the "political" work of civic education in alignment with and response to this oft-cited justification for development as opposed to relief, World Renew continues the metaphor, saying,

> Unfortunately, we have found that teaching people to fish is often not enough. The river may be diverted for a dam project and displace an entire community – as is happening in Laos. The water may be contaminated with arsenic poisoning – as is the case in Bangladesh. People's land may be grabbed out of their hands – as is happening to indigenous communities in Ecuador.
>
> Organization is key to CRWRC's work. Along with teaching people to fish, we help them organize because a community that knows how to organize around its problems and hopes can continue to create the changes they need long after CRWRC and our partners are gone. Organization works very well in CRWRC's justice and technical areas. We have programs that organize and combine literacy training with civic education. […] When local people know the laws, they can stop others from grabbing land, and they can provide security for families to grow their own food. In return, literacy helps train catalysts – the who of justice education, advocacy, and service learning.[929]

We see, then, that World Renew, with its partners (and for them, as well) conscientiously strives to increase the capacity of communities and individuals to resist oppressive and marginalizing structures and norms. This has been shown especially in chapter six. At the same time it educates the CRCNA about these matters.

What we also see is how, by being extended to their current logical outcomes (as distinct

[928] Acts of Synod 1983. "Report 6: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1983. p.102

[929] Agenda for Synod 2003, 194

from conclusions, which aren't known) the Reformed views of the person, society, and the world, the push and pull of the imminent and immanent, lead to a form of inevitably political resistance on the ground. In a context like Kenya, where there are two systems, the official and unofficial, and where the system most employed is the unofficial one that violates officially mandated and articulated laws and rights, World Renew seeks to educate and empower communities to know and demand their legislated rights. In such a case, working with what exists in order to transform or reform social structures and relations is also effectively an overturning, a revolution in the strict sense of the term. Simply working within, educating about, and requesting the implementation of existing laws and judicial and government agreements, under circumstances of non-functioning democracy and plutocratically corrupt authorities, is an act of resistance, a rejection of the status quo. Furthermore, by supporting processes of transformation and empowerment in both its partners and (thus) the communities where those partners work, processes that are made vital by local content and local meaning, World Renew supports the subversion of layers of damaging norms of which it perhaps is not (or even cannot be) aware. As has been shown, rural communities in Kenya are subject to a series of normative narratives that obstruct paths to improved quality of life. Besides norms of corruption in government, people in poverty exist within narratives of authority that devalue local knowledge, that divide homes and communities by sexism and tribalism, that create and assume dependency and undermine possibilities for self-sufficiency, that highlight lack over assets, that rely on the continued economic marginalization and subjugation of the majority of the population, that ignore environmental degradation, that impute moral and intellectual inferiority to poverty, and that assume that people can not and will not demand accountability.[930]

[930] It may also be recognized that World Renew, in the field, occupies the same position of default situational and historical authority-superiority as do other foreign donors and large wealthy agencies. It is thus inadvertently and structurally dominant over less advantaged groups of people, because these latter rely on the good will and approval of those who reach out from their positions of advantage to help but who could also pull back at any time, and in this way hold sway in economically unequal relations. That is to say, development (and other forms of) aid is itself comprised of and compromised by the unequal global economic playing field. Despite World Renew's intentions and orientations, it remains the case that the relation of communities and ADS to World Renew is a supplicatory one, in which World Renew has something they not only desire but need. Even if as an existential rule such agents cannot be legitimately described as "powerless," in aid relations of power they occupy a less powerful position than NGOs and their representatives, who control the valves of money and materials.
Basically, my point here is that I see this, and that it presents a conundrum for World Renew, of which it seems aware. In response, World Renew practices a development philosophy that works toward diminishing the negative effects of this in the field, and works toward transforming unequal relations into peer relationships. In this way it uses its privilege to, as much as it can, undercut the practical and detrimental effects of that privilege.

In light of these norms, development work that implicitly highlights the shortcomings of a democratically elected government that defaults on its promises, of NGOs that consistently "cheat" people, and of norms that undermine local empowerment *is* a resistance, revealing and modeling feasible alternatives to these ways of life, and showing how to achieve them. Against multi-leveled systemic disempowerment, World Renew, through its partners, exhibits practical ethics as embodied resistance. It disrupts norms, interrupts assumptions, exceeds expectations, and illuminates possibilities.

This incidental subversion – historically-materially attendant and fortuitous – echoes the role of the missionary church in Kenya, described by Galia Sabar in chapter five. By joining or participating in the church, "believers created a means of escaping the dominant order without overtly doing so." Later in the history of the church's presence in Kenya, during the fight for independence from British colonial rule, the Anglican church continued to provide its established health and education services, as well as food aid, despite prohibition of this by the British. Acting in the world according to (interpretations of) doctrines of the sublime led to practices that opposed the status quo, revealing the short-comings of British governance and, moreover, the nature of those short-comings as choices and decisions, and thus effectively choices and prohibitions. It seems to me that, by providing means and grounds for resistance, World Renew is similarly complicit in the exposure of the failure of government to protect and support its citizens and the failure of international bodies to demand and facilitate these things. By helping communities to uncover political-economic assets and strengths, it reveals that oppressive and impoverished political-economic conditions are not just accidental and contingent, but imposed, even if by powers of apathy and neglect – non-actions that are the purview of privilege.

In other words, World Renew-ADS's development strategy demonstrates that things can be better and be done in better ways, but yet are not; which begs the question, why not? The answers to this could be transformative; however, for World Renew as an NGO and, specifically, a Reformed NGO that is dependent on the goodwill of generous congregants, to explicitly focus on this inquiry – a highly political act – would burn bridges to a good portion of its funding, and also potentially make it *persona non grata* in the nations where it works as well as those on whose funding it depends. These results could undo the work that it does and has done.

And so it emerges that "resistance" – not radicalism, revolt, or rebellion – is in many ways World Renew's most practical and efficient – stewardly – course of action, for reasons

doctrinal, political, and ethical. Domestic interests, interests of carrying on with development aid, and political-economic realities exemplify the state of affairs recognized often as the "human condition" of unlimited possibilities constrained by temporality. These and other interwoven contingencies bind World Renew to a state of active inaction – supporting life within an insupportable system and thereby helping that system to perpetuate by not presenting an explicit, fundamental challenge; but at the same time, by its presence and programming, exposing and openly critiquing the massive gaps, weaknesses, and disdain for human life that are demonstrated by national and international structures and governance under which, without constant stop-gap measures, citizens would simply perish.

Conclusion

This dissertation demonstrates the necessity of very specific ethnographic research to enable and support long-term, sustainable development progress. It also reveals religion as a critical aspect of local socio-economics, especially in ex-colonial parts of the world, where religion has been so strongly associated with colonial authority, social mobility, and wealth. Finally, it shows the contingent, dynamic nature of religious faith and the expression of faith in ethical demands. It is my view that CRCNA demands on World Renew arise as much from within naturalized socio-economic norms of the Western, North American *habitus* as do community demands on ADS. The analysis I provide here shows how "our experience, our understanding, our explanations – all serve merely to ratify the conventions that sustain our sense of reality unless we appreciate the extent to which the basic 'building blocks' of our experience and our sensed reality are not natural but are social constructions."[931]

Within a historically self-enclosed religious community that in many regions remains endogamous, and especially one which exists in a part of the world that has a large and affluent middle class and where, therefore, the authority of wealth serves to underscore the natural, obvious, correctness of the normal way of life, Taussig's assessment clearly and strongly applies, highlighting the mechanisms by which the logics of this *habitus* radiate outward in a well-intentioned effusion of recommendations and requirements for developing the rest of the world.

By seeing that religious ethics are phenomenological, embedded and embodied, we can examine how horizons shape ethical priorities, orientations, and prerogatives. For World Renew,

[931] Taussig, Michael T. The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980. p.4

an organization with a dual horizon – one the view to the "inside," the church; and the other view to the "outside," the world in need – a good portion of its ethical practice is found in the act of mediation between two lifeworlds. This self-understanding is stated explicitly in the 1961 exposition of CRWRC's founding principles. Invoking the Christian Reformed duty to enact God's love to the world in need, it reminds the church that the "character of being the 'ecclesia'," the elect, depends on living in awareness of the suffering and destitute. It then continues to stress "that we must not minimized the fact that the ministry of mercy is not only necessary for the poor, but – and perhaps even more so – for the rich. 'For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil.' (I Tim. 6:10)."[932]

I will conclude here by reiterating that, fifty-odd years later, World Renew's approach to this dual obligation, in the face of significant resistance to the latter direction of ministry, has taken the form of what I refer to in this chapter as "Relationship as a Strategy." This strategy is not only for funding, church relations, and meeting the preferences of constituents in a stewardly way, but works toward the transformation of the church by placing people in situations where they have the opportunity to relate, that is, to realize a level of empathy that is transformative. True empathy results, or ought to result, in solidarity; and solidarity demands self-examination and willingness to change oneself or one's practices for the good of an other. Whether consciously or not, by cultivating solidarity between affluent and marginalized, through employing relationship as an empathy-making strategy, World Renew is sowing within the CRCNA the seeds of a recognition that contains radical possibility despite itself.

[932] Acts of Synod 1961. "Supplement No. 28 (Articles 57, 133): World-Wide Relief and Service Committee." Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Reformed Publishing House, 1961. p.347

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Appendix 1.1

INDEX OF INTERVIEWS IN ALBERTA

Region. Date. City/Town. Person/s interviewed.

North-Central Alberta: Edmonton, Leduc, Sherwood Park, St. Albert

02JUNE2012. Leduc. Wendy Taekema, John Taekema, and Cor Abma.

03JUNE2013. Edmonton. Auguste Guillaume and Harriet Guillaume.

04JUNE2013. Edmonton. Henry Bosch and Susan Bosch.

04JUNE2013. Edmonton. Harry Cook.

05JUNE2013. St. Albert. Bev Price and Les Dornbush.

05JUNE2013. Edmonton. Gladys VanderVeen and Richard VanderVeen.

05JUNE2013. Edmonton. Deb Boskers and Gord Boskers.

06JUNE2013. Edmonton. Henry Visscher and Linda Visscher.

06JUNE2013. Edmonton. Edwin Dening and Sylvia Dening.

07JUNE2013. St. Albert. Elly Dalmaijer and Jack Dalmaijer.

07JUNE2013. Sherwood Park. Dave VanderHeide.

02JULY2013. Edmonton. Jon Pelster.

02JULY2013. Edmonton. Nick Scott and Annette Wierstra.

03JULY2013. Edmonton. Roy Berkenbosch.

03JULY2013. Edmonton. Jason Horlings.

03JULY2013. Edmonton. Jenny VanBelle.

04JULY2013. Edmonton. Sarah Nicolai-deKoning.

04JULY2013. Edmonton. Sheryl Plantinga.

04JULY2013. Edmonton. Harry Spaling and Trudy Spaling.

05JULY2013. Edmonton. Group Interview – Emmanuel Home retirement / assisted living complex. William Breeuwsma, Anneke VanDenBerg, John Woudstra, Jetske Terpstra, and two anonymous.

Central Alberta: Lacombe, Ponoka, Red Deer

09JULY2013. Lacombe. Judy Giesbrecht.

09JULY2013. Lacombe. Karissa Prins.

09JULY2013. Lacombe. Betty and George Weenink.

10JULY2013. Lacombe. Linda Siebenga.

11JULY2013. Lacombe. Jack Siebenga.

11JULY2013. Red Deer. Barb Barthel.

11JULY2013. Red Deer. Evert Gritter.

12JULY2013. Lacombe. Arnie TenBrink.

22JULY2013. Lacombe. Ron Prins and anonymous.

23JULY2013. Lacombe. Jenny Bakker

23JULY2013. Lacombe. Ella Land and Walter Land.

23JULY2013. Lacombe. David Prins and Sheri Prins.

25JULY2013. Lacombe. Janine Siebenga.

25JULY2013. Lacombe. Joanne VanderGrift.

25JULY2013. Red Deer. Margaret Schoonderwoerd and Matt Schoonderwoerd.

26JULY2013. Lacombe. Jackie Born.

26JULY2013. Red Deer. Bob Barthel.

28JULY2013. Lacombe. Elco VanderGift.

29JULY2013. Rimbey. Hennie Doornenbal and Peter Doornenbal.

Southern Alberta: Burdett, Calgary, Lethbridge, Taber

10JUNE2013. Lethbridge. Margaret Mazereeuw and Rients Mazereeuw.

10JUNE2013. Lethbridge. Lorraine Vandervalk.

11JUNE2013. Taber. Bruce Warkentin.

11JUNE2013. Burdett. Alan Visscher, Alice Visscher and Bert Visscher.

15JULY2013. Calgary. Glenn Minnesma and Greta Minnesma.

15JULY2013. Calgary. Carla Bakker and Marty Minnesma.

16JULY2013. Calgary. Heather Cowie.

16JULY2013. Calgary. Matt VanderKooy.

17JULY2013. Calgary. Julie VandenHeuvel.

17JULY2013. Calgary. Nicole Wilson.

18JULY2013. Calgary. Terence Barg and André Visscher.

18JULY2013. Calgary. Henny and Wiebe Wagenaar.

18JULY2013. Calgary. Grace Stolte and Herm Stolte.

30JULY2013. Calgary. Dirk DeJong and Jennie DeJong.

01AUGUST2013. Calgary. Jerry Borst.

01AUGUST2013. Calgary. Cornelis Bos and Josina Bos.

02AUGUST2013. Calgary. Janelle Wassink.

Appendix 1.2

INDEX OF INTERVIEWS IN KENYA

Organization/Region. Date. Town/Village. Name of person/s or group (and group members, where possible). Title/Position of Interviewee/s (where possible).

WORLD RENEW

30APRIL2012 and 11MAY2012. Nairobi. Fred Witteveen. Country Director, World Renew Kenya (until 2013).

04MAY2012. Nairobi. Stephan Lutz. Program Consultant (agriculture), World Renew Kenya.

24JULY2012. Telephone interview. Davis Omanyo. Team leader World Renew East Africa (until 2015).

WESTERN REGION

***ADS Staff Interviews (including interns & others professionally associated)*:**

14MAY2012. Kakamega. Peter Mudy. Executive Director.

15MAY2012. Kakamega. Oscar Ekesa. Mountain Area Program Officer & Temporary Programs Director for WRCCS.

16MAY2012. Kakamega. Audrey Were. Administrative Assistant, Programs Coordination.

16MAY2012. Kakamega. Rebeccah surname n/a *a*. Business Training Extension Officer.

18MAY2012. Kakamega. Sheila surname n/a. Administrative Assistant.

18MAY2012. Kakamega. Bishop Simon M. Oketch. Board of Directors.

21MAY2012. Kakamega. Immaculate Imboba. Human Resources Officer.

22MAY2012. Mumias. George Mwima. Area Program Officer, Sugarbelt Region (until 2013).

30MAY2012. Kukule sub-location, Teso North District, Busia County. Ernest Akeko, Community-Based Health Fund coordinator. Tabitha Toto, Community Facilitator, Mountain Area.

05JUNE2012. Kakamega; Mumias. Benard Yaite. Monitoring and Evaluation Officer.

22JUNE2012. Kakamega. Canon Zacchaeus Masake. Involved in early coordination of CRWRC-CCS partnership in Western Region ACK dioceses.

***Groups & Community Members*:**

23MAY2012. Kholera sub-location, Mumias. Kholera Kick Hunger CBO. Watiti Ali Rapanga, CBO Chairman; Penninah Ongoche Amutsa, Community Facilitator for WRADS Sugarbelt Area; George Mwima (WRADS agricultural field officer).

24MAY2012. Namahindi village, Busia County, Nambale District. Yatima Mungano ("orphan pulling-together/co-op") SHG (OVC group). Livingstone Ekesa (chair), Godfrey Mudy (treasurer), Dorcas Omar, Postine Adundi, Rosemary Languka, Gulliver Wini, Phyllis Ojuong, Alex Munyanga, Peter Munyanga, Agnes Mwangzana, Josephine Mnaias, Sidney Okruma, Priska Watiti, Priscilla Makhoka, Judith Makokha, Peter Kadima (second secretary; senior secretary absent).

25MAY2012. Near Namahindi village, Busia County, Nambale District. Food Security CBO. Godfrey Owiri; Maxmil Otieno (chairwoman); Irene surname n/a.

07JUNE2012. Lugari, Lugari County, Kakamega North District. Tusidiani Women Group (OVC and beekeeping). Boniface surname n/a, Naomi surname n/a, members.

07JUNE2012. Lugari, Lugari County, Kakamega North District. Lugari Grain Amaranth CBO. Christopher Akhaya, chairman.

07JUNE2012. Kabras Location, Lugari County, Kakamega North District. Amani Youth Group CBO. Steve Waiti, member.

11JUNE2012. Mumias. Florence Osido, representative of Rareda Women for Empowerment, in Bondo, Nyanza Province. Interview took place in Mumias.

MOUNT KENYA EAST

***ADS Staff (including interns & others professionally associated)*:**

10JULY2012. Kerugoya. Catherine Mwangi. Executive Director, ADSMKE.

11JULY2012. Mwea (aka Wan'guru), Kirinyaga County. Mary Gicobi, Area Program Officer. Lilian Wangeci Mwangi, Extension Officer (Agriculture, Water).

16JULY2012. Mwea (aka Wan'guru), Kirinyaga County. Mary Gicobi, Area Program Officer. (Second interview, en route from Mwea to Macumo, where she delivered me to Tabitha Waweru, Station Coordinator there.)

17JULY2012. Macumo, Embu District. Tabitha Waweru. Station Coordinator + Extension Officer (Agriculture); Nicholas Omondi Pande, Intern.

23JULY2012. Isiolo. Sellah surname n/a. Field Officer.

24JULY2012. Isiolo. Patrick Kibe. Relief/Field Officer.

25JULY2012. Isiolo. Hannah Mumbi Gichungi. Intern.

01AUGUST2012. Mayori. Jane Nyambura. Extension Officer (Water and Sanitation).

02AUGUST2012. Mayori. Damaris Mthiga. Nurse; Health Services Program Officer /

Coordinator.

03AUG2012. Mayori. Patrick Nyaga. Station Coordinator + Extension Officer (Animal Health/Vet Svc's).

07AUG2012 Mitunguu. Jane Gitonga. Station Coordinator.

***Groups / Community Members* (**denotes meeting attended for observation only, no interview opportunity*):**

Mwea / Wan'guru Station

12JULY2012. Ikurungu, South Ngarama District. Ikurungu Primary School Parents Meeting. Questions to group.

13JULY2012. Iria Itune, Mbeere District. Iria Itune Dairy Goat groups (x 2, at two different stations). With David Njoka and Julius Kalu of World Renew; goat vaccination and deworming day. Station one: questions to group; station two: questions to group as well as various informal conversations.

13JULY2012. Makutano, Mbeere South District. Makutano Water for Goats Dairy Goat group. With David Njoka and Julius Kalu of World Renew; goat vaccination and deworming day; various informal conversations. Group questions and one-on-one with Mary Njeri James.

Macumo Station

16JULY2012. Embu, Embu County. Eli Karuguti (ADSMKE Macumo Board Chairman).

17JULY2012. Macumo, Embu County. Munyaka ("good luck") Women Group (microfinance; three members). Joyce Njoki, Jen Wambui, Lydia Wanja.

17JULY2012. Mufu, Embu County. Mufu Youth Group / Thuc Youth for Change (HIV/AIDS education; fish farming, tree nurseries, rabbit keeping, agribusiness). James Morethi Mbogo, Phares Nyaga, Tabitha Karimi.

18JULY2012. Macumo, Embu County. Ugweri Parish Participatory Evaluation Process (PEP) and Church and Community Mobilization Program (CCMP) meeting.*

19JULY2012. Ron'gan'ga ACK, near Macumo, Embu County. Rotune Church and Community Mobilization Program (CCMP) Study Group. Nathan Ireri, Frida Karimi, Asaf Kariuki, Violet Kariuki, Flora Kinzua, Mrs. Eunice W. Mugo, Obadiah Mwaniki, Rev. John Ndegwa, Benson Njeru (chairman), Christopher Njeru, Cicily Njeru, Edith Wandiri, Beatrice Weveti.

20JULY2012. Gacage Wende sub-location, Macumo, Embu County. Gacage Wendani Morimi SHG (VSL; maize, beans, poultry, livestock, beekeeping, tree planting). Aquilina Thera (chair), Wycliffe Inyagi (secretary), Adriana Thera, David Kunywa, Doris Njoki (treasurer), Mary Gichuko.

Isiolo Station

24JULY2012. Isiolo/Maniata (in "the bush"). Mobile VCT/Maternal-Child Clinic. Rosemary surname n/a, Mary Rodea, Margaret Nalika, Grace Tinambia, Susan Suoyu, Christine Arigoi, Anne Ebei.

25JULY2012. Chumvi, Isiolo. Chumvi IDP camp, group interview at World Renew meat distribution relief project, with members of camp meat distribution committee, and some other

camp community members. Facilitated by Joseph Chomba, World Renew-affiliated supervising veterinarian. Albino Lonjao (committee member), Patrick Isinien, Peter Ekere (committee member), Christie Lokapet, Margaret Mahalet (committee member), Veronica Akale (committee member and secretary).

Mayori Station

31JULY2012. Gathera Village, Mbeere District, Embu County. Gathera SHG (Water for Goats project).

31JULY2012. Mariari, Mbeere District, Embu County. Water for Goats group.

01AUGUST2012. Karambari sub-location (and including members from Itira sub-location as well), Mbeere District, Embu County. Ithika ("Answer") Water for Life SHG (Water for Goats project). Lila surname n/a, John M. surname n/a, Zipporah surname n/a, Mary Mwenge, Lena Kerunti, Margaret surname n/a, Jane Waheri, Lydia Murangi, John Gugi, Keith surname n/a, Harrison surname n/a.

01AUGUST2012. Gangara, Mbeere District, Embu County. Gangara Water for Goats Project. Wilfred Njuki, Nicolas Namu, Helen Zatari, Rael surname n/a, Mary Mothanu, Missy Ramhaya, Sally Timu, Edward Limote, Peaterson Ngali, Milton Njambi.

02AUGUST2012. Mathiga Meru, Mbeere District, Embu County. Community Disaster Risk Reduction training with World Renew.*

03AUGUST2012. Makima, Mbeere District, Embu County. Water for Goats Group.

03AUGUST2012. Bondoni, Mbeere District, Embu County. Water for Goats Group. Gideon Maika, Patrick Butima, George Matheka, Anne Nduku, Francis Mathaka, Lazaraus Mutua, Rebecca Nduko, Elizabeth K., Marita Mweru, Karen Karanja, Nzao Gewa.

Mitunguu Station

06AUGUST2012. Nyakinjeru, Tharaka District. Nyakinjeru ("dry grass") Group (waterpan group). Focus on water access.

07AUGUST2012. Mitunguu/Tharaka, Tharaka District. Nkune Kituo (tree nurseries, water spring, rural finance). David Gitonga (chairman), George Mwangenki, Kioji Mazuria, Judith Karegwa, Anne Gatoro, Anne Kawera, Mary Gaki (secretary), Grace Karimi, Tabitha Karigu, Margaret Kajira, Mary Kagiendo.

MOUNT KENYA

***ADS Staff (including interns & others professionally associated)*:**

11SEPT2012. Kairi, Kiambu County. Paul Mwariri Wangechi, Extension Officer (Business Training).

11SEPT2012. Kairi, Kiambu County. Patrick Nderitu, Extension Officer (HIV/AIDS and Health).

20SEPT2012. Thika. Peter Macharia Kagi. Community Development Coordinator.

30OCT2012. Nyeri. Kennedy Gichira. Regional Development Coordinator.

01NOV2012. Kairi, Kiambu County. Julius Kimondo Mung'ora. Field Extension Officer (Agriculture/Organic Farming).

***Groups / Community Members*:**

12SEPT2012. Githuguri, Kabu district. Tutawangojea ("we will be waiting for them") Group.

18SEPT2012. Nakoi, Kiambu County. Chania Environmental Rehabilitation Program: Community Resource Person Training Day. Martin Waweru Gacheru (CBO representative) and Mary K. Kithinji (CBO representative). Separate interviews.

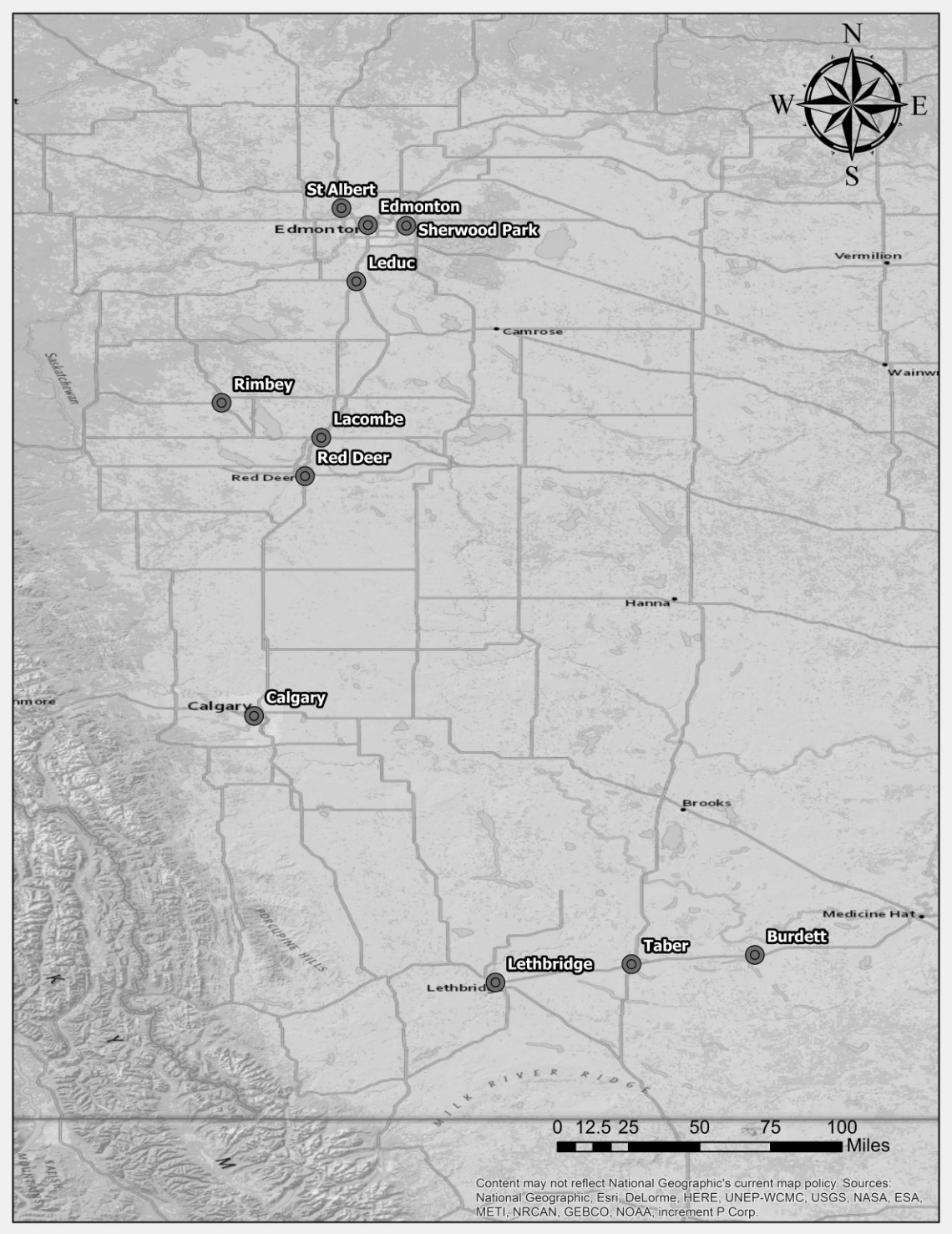
25SEPT2012. Makwa, Kiambu County. Raphael Kinuthia Wainaina. CBO / Community Member (in his nineties, which was the particular interest in this interview). Interpreter: Patrick Nderitu.

26SEPT2012. Gatundu, Kiambu County. Women's VSL group; also selected to participate in Chania Environmental Rehabilitation Project.

26SEPT2012. Gatundu, Kiambu County. Sophia Kabura Ngugi ("Granny Sophia"). CBO / Community Member (in her nineties, which was the particular interest in this interview). Interpreter: Patrick Nderitu.

Appendix 2.1

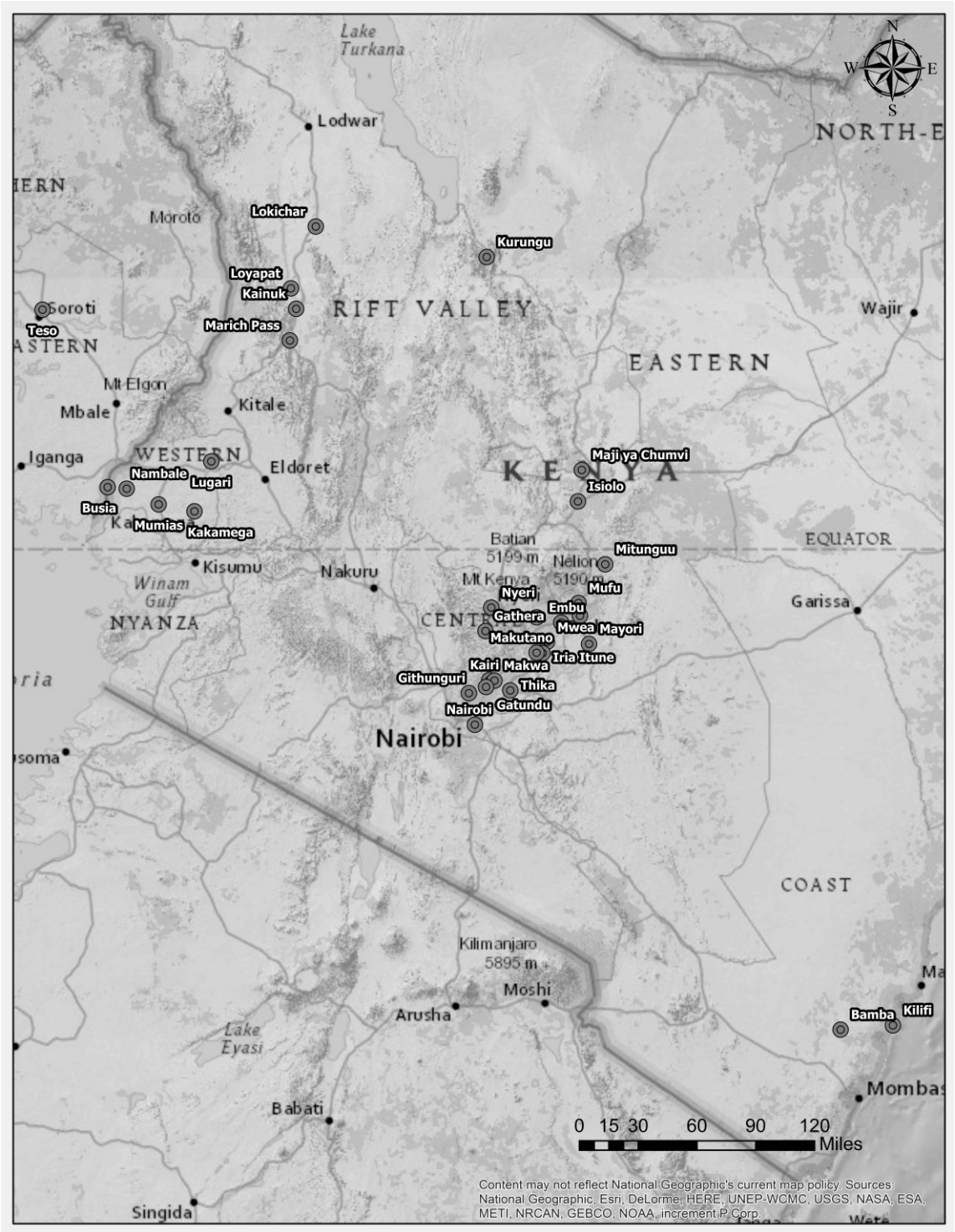
MAP OF ALBERTA INTERVIEW LOCATIONS[934]



[934] Sources: see notation embedded in maps; location points via Google maps.

Appendix 2.2

MAP OF KENYA INTERVIEW LOCATIONS (All) [935]



[935] With the exceptions of Kurungu and Teso on this map, misidentified respectively as Ikurungu, part of Mount Kenya East, and District Teso North, in Western Region.

Appendix 2.3

MAP OF KENYA INTERVIEW LOCATIONS (MK and MKE)